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CONTENTS

The Old Turned Anew
(Note from the Editorial Board) 3

ACADEMIC ESSAYS

NICOLAE PANEA
Hospitalité et identité 5

RALUCA NICOLAE
Atmospheric Change and Dynamic Ambiguity in Japanese Legends 15

ALBERTO CASTALDINI
Forme della religiosità primitiva: riti solstiziali presso le minoranze germaniche delle Alpi meridionali 27

ION TALOŞ
Profane Bräuche und Lieder der Weihnachtszeit bei den romanischen Völkern 37

RODICA ZANE
Culture traditionnelle et construction identitaire en Roumanie aujourd'hui. Notes en marge d'un projet de recherche 75

ARMAND GUŢĂ
Istro-Romanian Cultural Minority Today 81

RODICA RALIADE
Recomposition et transformation des bibliographies en bases de données 99

RESEARCH SOURCES

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
Romanian Ethnomusicologies: The Second Version of an International Bibliography of Scholarly Literatures 109

BOOK REVIEWS

OTILIA HEDEŞAN
Iordan Datcu, *Dicţionarul etnologilor români. Autori. Publicaţii periodice. Instituţii. Mari colecţii. Bibliografii. Cronologie* [Dictionnaire des ethnologues roumains. Auteurs. Publications périodiques. Institutions. Grandes collections. Chronologie]. Ediţia a III-a, revăzută şi mult adăugită [Troisième édition, refaite et amplement augmentée] 163

IORDAN DATCU
Tony Brill, *Tipologia legendei populare româneşti*: *I. Legenda etologică*; *II Legenda mitologică, legenda religioasă, legenda istorică* [Typology of Romanian Folk Legends: I. Etiological Legends; II. Mythological, Religious, and Historical Legends] 165

List of Contributors 169

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REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR
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Serie nouă 1 2007

SUMAR

Vechiul, înnoit
[O menţiune din partea Comitetului Redacţional] 3

STUDII

NICOLAE PANEA
[Ospitalitate şi identitate] 5

RALUCA NICOLAE
[Mişcare atmosferică şi ambiguitate dinamică în legendele japoneze] 15

ALBERTO CASTALDINI
[Forme de religiozitate primitivă: riturile solstiţiare ale minorităţii germane din Alpii Meridionali] 27

ION TALOŞ
[Obiceiuri şi cântece profane din perioada Crăciunului la popoarele romanice] 37

RODICA ZANE
[Cultură tradiţională şi construcţie identitară în România actuală. Note pe marginea unui proiect de cercetare] 75

ARMAND GUŢĂ
[Minoritatea culturală istroromână azi] 81

RODICA RALIADE
[Recompunerea şi transformarea bibliografiilor în baze de date] 99

MATERIALE

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
[Etnomuzicologii româneşti: versiunea secundă a unei bibliografii de literatură academică în limbi internaţionale] 109

RECENZII

OTILIA HEDEŞAN
Iordan Datcu, *Dicţionarul etnologilor români. Autori. Publicaţii periodice. Instituţii. Mari colecţii. Bibliografii. Cronologie* 163

IORDAN DATCU
Tony Brill, *Tipologia legendei populare româneşti: I. Legenda etologică; II Legenda mitologică, legenda religioasă, legenda istorică* 165

Lista autorilor 169

THE OLD TURNED ANEW
(Note from the Editorial Board)

The old "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" has recently celebrated its 50 anniversary. We call it "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" because this was its long-lasting name, a name due to which the journal became profoundly embedded into people's mind.

In fact, at the beginning, it was only "Revista de folclor". In the 1950s, "folklore" was the keyword or paramount concept signifying the totality of disciplines that will make what we conceive nowadays as... ethnologies. And it also was the fact that the "Institutul de Folclor" (Folklore Institute), founded in 1949, was conceived as the academic venue specialized in the research of folk music, folk dance, and folk literature. Only that the Institute grew up, over the decades incorporating other sections, departments, disciplines, thus expanding its area of expertise, tasks, and interest. In 1964, taking over an entire department for ethnography from the Institute for the History of Arts, it was named "Institutul de etnografie şi folclor". Hence, our periodical became, like the Institute, a *Journal for Ethnography and Folklore*.

Later on, the patron of our journal changed. The Institute expanded again, becoming "Institutul de Cercetări Etnologice şi Dialectologice" (Institute of Ethnological and Dialectological Research), whereas the "Revista..." remained the same. It was to the Institute to come under the former patronage and umbrella that served as the continuity platform for the journal – the Romanian Academy of Sciences. And the journal survived, preserving its name, also after the Institute (of Ethnography and Folklore) added to its title the name of its spiritual patron, Constantin Brăiloiu (1991).

Over these five decades life span "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" has fluctuated numerically. It had two issues per year, then twelve, six or four. Now we will have two yearly issues, compensating its page volume through intellectual quality and modernity.

After a sad interruption during the most recent years, the Romanian Academy of Sciences decided to revive the journal, as well as to give it a new impetus. The present volume is the first output of this initiative, which aims at turning "Revista

de etnografie şi folclor" into an internationally available, compatible, and competitive resource.

From a nation-wide platform for supporting, communicating, illustrating and promoting the academic research in Romania, from now on this journal widely opens to the international academia. Any research in traditional cultures or in oral forms of cultural expression can find space here, henceforth inviting all colleagues to share with us their intellectual best, their findings and expertise, by submitting their most solid papers and academic essays.

"Revista de etnografie şi folclor" is a peer-reviewed journal, obeying and recommending all the high standards reached by the social, cultural, and anthropological disciplines performed today.

HOSPITALITÉ ET IDENTITÉ

NICOLAE PANEA

En tant qu'ethnologue, le sujet de ma recherche est l'Autre, ce qui distingue l'Autre de moi, de ma culture, sinon par hasard ma culture devient aussi autre chose qu'instrument de le connaître, obstacle pour sa réflexion ou, pire encore, source de fictionnement de l'Autre.

D'autre part, la réponse à toutes ces questions n'est possible que si l'Autre accepte et t'accepte, si la barrière culturelle entre lui et toi se lève portée par une force miraculeuse. Cette force peut être l'hospitalité, une force ordonnatrice, une force créatrice d'identité.

L'hospitalité est une source d'interrogations concernant le sens de notre existence dans le monde, est une concrétisation du soin en tant qu'essence de l'existence, est un état mental, mais aussi un code social par lequel on révèle l'identité de maître de celui qui l'applique et l'occultation des aspects négatifs (l'hostilité) inhérents au statut d'étranger de celui accueilli et accepté. L'hospitalité est un double processus de valorisation sociale.

Considérée par Arnold van Gennep comme un rite d'agrégation (1996: 39), d'intégration de l'individu dans un groupe, rite fondé sur le symbolisme de la communion alimentaire et de l'échange de dons, qui crée la continuité de la liaison ş*o*ciale, liée par Marcel Mauss et Claude Lévi-Strauss aux théories sur le don, appréciée par Ofelia Văduva comme don total (1997: 85), l'hospitalité est, directement ou non, systématiquement ou d'une manière fulgurante, intégrée dans un champ rituel, soit comme expression, soit comme productrice ou support de celui-ci. Vue comme une concrétion sociale, l'hospitalité est une source de la *«tragédie destinale»* (Derrida 1999: 81) parce qu'elle conscientise la dissymétrie de l'antinomie entre la Loi (*nomos*) abstraite et les lois de l'hospitalité, conditionnées et conditionnelles.

> *«L'antinomie de l'hospitalité oppose d'une manière irréconciliable la loi, dans sa singularité universelle, à une pluralité qui est non seulement une dispersion (les lois) mais une multiplicité structurée, déterminée par un*

processus de division et de distinction: il s'agit de lois qui partagent de manière différente leur histoire et leur géographie anthropologique» (Derrida 1999: 79).

De cette perspective du conditionnement, l'hospitalité tient des expériences historiques essentielles de l'individu qui découvre ses capacités de socialisation à savoir que l'Autre, l'étranger, peut être apprivoisé, fait suffisant pour le «conquérir», que le tuer n'est pas toujours utile, que le modèle comportemental de l'animal qui déchire son concurrent pour démontrer qui est le maître n'est pas forcément efficace.

Emile Benveniste, en analysant les éléments étymologiques du mot latin *hostis, hospes, -itis*, identifie deux noyaux sémantiques: *l'identité personnelle* et *le maître* (Benveniste, 1999: 69).

L'hospitalité est un état mental, situé chronologiquement et psychologiquement avant tout rituel. Elle peut être développée dans un code complexe, qui peut revêtir des formes rituelles. Les aspects d'agrégation de celui-ci nous semblent collatéraux et conjoncturels. Essentiellement, l'hospitalité est un double processus de valorisation sociale par laquelle se révèle réciproquement l'identité de celui qui accueille, reconnu comme maître, et de celui qui est accueilli, son potentiel égal. La virtualité de ce potentiel égal devient réalité par le biais d'une compensation. Celle-ci peut prendre des aspects très concrets comme le don et le contredon, mais elle peut revêtir aussi des formes sublimées, comme la récitation d'un conte, l'intonation d'un chant, d'un mythe, etc., c'est-à-dire la propre langue comme réflexion systémique de la réalité, de l'univers et les formes conceptuelles que cette réflexion revêtit. Levinas affirmait quelque part que *«l'essence du langage est amitié et hospitalité»* (Derrida 1999: 112).

Dans l'analyse sémantique que Benveniste fait aux éléments qui composent le substantif *hospes, -itis* et aux relations étymologiques que celui-ci établit en aire indoeuropéenne, on retrouve non seulement les idées de maître, mais aussi celles de mari, échange, don, pouvoir, possession, aussi bien que celle d'ennemi. C'est toujours Benveniste qui offre l'explication selon laquelle l'hôte peut se transformer en ennemi.

«... quand la place des liaisons d'échange entre clan et clan a été prise par les liaisons de séparation (cf. gr. Xénos: 'hote', 'étranger')» (Derrida 1999: 112).

Dans la concrétion de la multiplication de la Loi unique, abstraite, dans des lois de la conduite sociale, l'hospitalité, dans la conception de Derrida, est indissolublement liée à la violence (Derrida 1999: 57). En décrivant la réalité, les

mots de la loi captent aussi les pratiques sociales, telles que la ritualisation de l'échange, de l'offre, en tant que connaissance et acceptation de l'autre, mais aussi la violence subjacente de ce phénomène.

L'hospitalité en tant qu'état mental fait la différence entre l'individu disposé à construire un système normatif qu'il veut respecter et, de cette manière, maîtriser la réalité qu'on lui offre, et l'individu qui n'obéit à aucune règle et qui choisit consciemment la solitude et l'aliénation. L'hospitalité modèle les relations entre les gens du point de vue de la valeur, à la différence de l'hostilité, n'importe comment serait-elle définie ou imaginée, qui n'est autre chose qu'un rejet de celle-ci. C'est pourquoi l'hospitalité nous semble une manière originaire de considérer notre existence dans le monde. Elle ouvre le chemin aussi bien à notre devenir divin, qu'à notre socialisation. C'est un principe ordonnateur sur lequel repose une institution sociale, nous pourrions dire, globale.

LE RÉGAL EN TANT QUE FORME DE VALORISATION PAR COMMUNION ALIMENTAIRE

Le régal est une marque de l'acceptation de l'autre. En pratique, nous pouvons le considérer aussi bien comme contexte rituel (temps, espace, déroulement de rôles) de l'échange, que le don même, la vérification des solidarités existantes, mais aussi d'autres à venir.

S'asseoir à table dépasse le geste quotidien de satisfaire certains besoins primaires. Cela signifie, en fait, se signer, prier, se rappeler ses morts, son sens dans le monde: une série de responsabilités qui conscientise notre solidarité avec les deux communautés, celle des vivants et celle des morts. Ce type de solidarité nous confère la valeur sociale, synthétisée dans l'identité que, avant tout, nous offrons à l'autre au cadre de ce dialogue alimentaire, qui ne peut pas avoir lieu dans toutes conditions et qui n'est pas regardé n'importe comment.

Comme tout rituel, il accomplit simultanément trois fonctions (Panea, 2003: 22):

1. Canal de communication et de médiation sociale qui légitime des identités par le biais d'un décor typique qui sémantise l'espace et le temps et par le biais de son unité minimale, le symbole, une batterie informationnelle infatigable.

2. Instrument de réglementation, assurant l'accès infini des codes sociaux et culturels.

3. Instrument de gestion symbolique du présent, mais aussi de l'avenir, assurant le règlement et la reproduction de l'ordre sociale.

Tout régal rituel envoie à Ce Régal-là, au premier, au sublime, au Régal, quand l'écoulement insignifiant du temps devient contexte et quand on ouvre la porte à la transformation symbolique de l'espace (de la maison, du village, du

monde), quand les actants deviennent acteurs conscients des rôles qu'ils jouent et des valeurs qu'ils incarnent et transmettent, mais aussi au Dernier Régal, celui qui refait, rejoue le premier geste de se régaler.

Tout régal rituel est une scène où l'on joue, seulement en apparence une pièce contemporaine. En réalité, d'un contexte à l'autre, on refait la Grande Pièce jouée dans un temps sorti de l'histoire, de l'ancêtre légendaire. C'est dans la phénoménologie de cette Grande Pièce que réside la valeur véritable du don, du régal comme don. Cette idée est sublimée dans de nombreuses cultures par la désignation du monde d'au-delà, du paradis, comme un régal de la joie (Saint-Jean Bouche d'Or), comme hospitalité essentielle, l'accueil dans l'essence de la divinité, la consubstantialisation avec celle-ci, or ce type d'imagistique reflète la solidarisa-tion, par le biais de l'hospitalité, de la communauté des croyants. Teofil Părăian considère que ce régal de la joie c'est justement le régal de la croyance (Părăian 2005).

Le niveau objectuel et celui gastronomique ne font autre chose que de mimer ce passé-là exemplaire, preuve que la vaisselle d'où l'on sert est la meilleure et la plus belle, les plats sont les plus riches et les plus fins, leur abondance est pareille. Mais, tout cela est une apparence spectaculaire, des accessoires du rituel. Ni la nourriture, ni les dons objectuels ne constituent le Don. C'est la communion avec ce que l'on croit s'être passé aux commencements (du monde, du village, du peuple, de l'homme) qui représente le vrai Don.

Cette communion, répétée rituellement, est le combustible qui rend possible la reproduction de l'ordre sociale, autrement dit, la confirmation de la valeur de chaque individu suite à la solidarité avec son propre passé mythique ou légendaire.

L'hospitalité comme acceptation de l'autre, comme effort mental de transformation du soi, signifie l'union d'un double processus de projection. Tous les deux paliers de ce processus se rejoignent autour du thanatique.

Dans une première étape mentale, l'hospitalité signifie tuer symboliquement l'étranger de l'autre, couvrir le sens de «maître de l'hôte», que Benveniste trouve comme forme primaire de désignation de «hospes» (Benveniste 1999: 70), mais aussi comme «maître de la maison», comme un autre sens qui a évolué du sens primaire (Benveniste 1999: 72), cette action de tuer ayant pour but de chasser notre propre peur d'inconnu.

La deuxième étape, l'acceptation, signifie mon offre comme tout culturel, y compris mon offre comme projection à l'avenir, donc, finalement, comme virtualité de ma mort, envisagée non pas comme fin, mais comme accomplissement de la relation avec les ancêtres.

Ce fait est renforcé factuellement par le régal-don. L'ostentation, qu'elle soit réalisée par la richesse, ou bien par la pauvreté du régal, attire l'attention non

seulement sur le caractère rituel, mais aussi sur le sens métaphorique. Si le régal est riche, il engendre de l'excès, et l'excès suppose de la durée et celle-ci facilite la connaissance, la compréhension et l'acceptation ou le rejet. Si le régal-don est frugal, il concentre l'attention sur la symbolique du sacrifice, et le sacrifice suppose une réplique et le résultat est le même que dans le premier cas.

Mais cela est la rhétorique apparente, de surface, du régal. En profondeur, le discours est autrement structuré. Ce qui est sur la table, ce qui est offert symbolise mon travail, mon investissement, ma responsabilité envers les miens, moi dans le passé, autrement dit, tout ce que je connais. La dimension symbolique est prouvée par le fait que la frugalité d'un repas offert ne peut pas passer au-delà des deux éléments essentiels: le pain et le vin, qui traduisent, en même temps, la concrétion de la nourriture et la connaissance symbolique.

Le pain représente la mémoire de la famille, l'effort du travail déposé pour les semailles, la récolte, mais aussi la joie de la mouture, la dureté du champ et la mollesse de la farine, l'homme et la femme, la famille et la divinité. La présence du pain sur la table suggère aussi bien la tranquillité et la confiance à l'avenir, le respect envers les ancêtres, que l'amour pour le Dieu, car c'est à eux qu'on offre le pain spécial, la gimblette. C'est pourquoi on ne refuse pas et on ne gaspille pas le pain.

Le pain t'aide à connaitre l'autre, selon son comportement envers celui-ci. Le pain offert devient plus qu'un aliment, c'est presque un «symbole culturel».

> *«Il porte* (le pain, *n.n.*) *sur lui une écriture sociale: il est implicitement de savoir la lire correctement»* (Mayol 1994: 125-126).

Enfin, le pain symbolise la durabilité, la stabilité, la continuité, le conservatorisme comme force supérieure, productive, destinée a modeler une tradition, en un mot, tout ce que tu représentes, ou, mieux dire, tout ce que tu es afin de pouvoir être partagé avec quelqu'un (femme, enfant, parents, amis, hôtes), mais aussi comme offrande pour la récolte prochaine, un don à celui qui nous a Donné. Dans un chant de Noël de Ţara Loviştei (Pays de Loviştea) on attend Dieu avec *«un colac şi-un cozonac»* (Mohanu 1975: 23) («une gimblette et une brioche», *notre traduction*), dans une hypostase du Regal primordial:

> *«Ci mi-aştept pe Dumnezeu*
> *Ca să-mi cine el cu mine*
> *El cu mine, eu cu el»* (Mohanu 1975: 24)
>
> Et j'attends Dieu
> Pour qu'il dîne avec moi
> Lui avec moi, moi avec lui (*notre traduction*)

Le vin signifie évasion, imagination, liberté, l'atteinte du divin, mais aussi mort, autrement dit, tout ce qu'on peut devenir. C'est pourquoi, peut-être, on ne le partage avec personne, mais on l'offre seulement. Le vin est symbole de l'immortalité, de la joie, et dans la *Genèse* (27, 28) il est même symbole de tous les dons que Dieu a fait aux hommes.

Le pain et le vin, comme des biens symboliques et des signes culturels, traduisent le paradoxe de toute existence sociale: l'esprit économe, comme incarnation de la préoccupation pour son propre devenir, symbolisé par le pain, et l'esprit prodigue, comme signe de la liberté, ou bien de la délivrance des contraintes sociales, des convenances, symbolisé par le vin.

Faire un tel don signifie offrir, en même temps, de la sureté et de l'évasion, des contraintes et de la liberté, du passé et de l'avenir. Entre la mémoire et les rêves, toute l'existence humaine.

Un troisième aliment lié à l'idée d'hospitalité serait le sel. Le sel est partagé de même que le pain et englobe, tout comme celui-ci, les sens d'un travail particulier en vue de son obtention. Mais, en outre, il suggère aussi la dimension spirituelle de l'existence, l'amitié et l'amour, sans lesquels on ne peut pas vivre.

> *«Chez les Grecs, comme chez les Hébreux ou les Arabes, le sel est le symbole de l'amitié, de l'hospitalité, parce qu'il est partagé (...) Homer affirme son caractère divin. Il est employé dans les sacrifices»* (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1990: 23).

En même temps, l'hospitalité porte en soi les résidus de la mort, de sorte qu'elle est une épiphanie de celle-ci, dans le sens des affirmations de Vladimir Jankélévitch:

> *«Tout me parle de la mort...mais indirectement et de biais, par des hiéroglyphes et des sous-entendus. La vie signifie l'épiphanie de la mort, mais cette épiphanie est allégorique, pas tautegorique ; il faut savoir comprendre les allusions. L'intellection des signes de cette compréhension modifie entièrement le paysage de la vie»* (Jankélévitch 2000: 56).

Cette intellection est le vrai don fait à l'autre dans le présent ontique du régal. L'acceptation réciproque dans le présent du régal signifie, en fait, l'offre et la contre-offre du propre avenir, la préparation en commun pour la mort, nous serions tentés de dire pour la même mort, comme incarnation de tout ce que je peux devenir, de tout ce que je peux connaître. Ces vérités sont proliférées par le rituel, car tout rituel, par sa qualité d'instaurer un temps et un espace à part, par sa capacité de se détacher de profane, provoque l'épiphanie de la mort dont parlait le philosophe français, agite les résidus de la première mort, en les intégrant dans une

allégorie compliquée qui assure, d'ailleurs, l'attraction magique de tout acte rituel, mélange de fatalité et d'espoir.

Ainsi, nous pouvons considérer chaque rituel comme une forme concrète d'organisation sociale qui reflète, tout d'abord, ce noyau identitaire, l'hospitalité.

Nous pouvons choisir comme exemple, pour développer cette idée, n'importe quelle forme rituelle très connue, la noce, la mort, les chants de Noël, voire l'acte de performance lui-même. Nous allons résumer les sens de ces relations. L'hospitalité c'est l'acceptation de l'avenir, mais l'avenir peut être traduit aussi par l'imminence de la mort. L'hospitalité c'est l'acceptation de l'autre, virtuellement ton égal, mais, tout d'abord, son acceptation comme mortel. Toute acceptation suppose, en essence, la responsabilité, le soin comme distillation de l'existence dans ce monde (Emmanuel Lévinas), et la conscience de cette responsabilité conduit à notre devenir qui s'accomplit toujours sous le signe de la mort de l'autre.

Dans le rituel nuptial les deux acteurs rituels majeurs obtiennent de la valeur suite a l'apprentissage collectif de l'hospitalité. À côté du rituel nuptial, nous avons considéré que le rituel des chants de Noël peut être interprété comme un apprentissage collectif de l'hospitalité, et même plus, qu'il peut être considéré un texte philosophique modèle en ce qui concerne la diffusion de la conception populaire de l'existence comme offre.

L'acte de performance comme hospitalité porte sur le fait que la performance peut être interprétée aussi comme un dévoilement publique de ton intimité culturelle, ou bien comme l'acceptation de l'autre dans le monde de tes idées et de tes mots, l'offre de ta virtualité culturelle, de ta projection dans la fiction, comme forme supérieure et épurée de toute trace de nocivité de don.

Malgré tout cela, nous préférons une option inédite, on est d'accord, presque choquante, le jeu d'*oina* (jeu populaire ressemblant beaucoup au baseball américain, notre note, N.P.), justement pour souligner la force coagulante de l'hospitalité et de son capacité de modeler des identités.

L'*oina* n'est pas un jeu, c'est une pédagogie. Elle concentre toute une vision sur le monde, propre à la société roumaine traditionnelle. C'est pourquoi nous nous proposons de l'analyser plutôt comme genre (*generum*) et non pas comme jeu, comme une structure sur-ordonnatrice et non pas comme un référentiel ludique, comme un système de correspondances entre la tradition sportive et l'image de la société, ayant la conviction qu'un tel système peut nous faire comprendre la société où nous vivons et la manière dont elle a évolué. Dans ce sens, N. Elias affirmait radicalement: «Nous sommes tout à fait convaincus que la connaissance du sport est la clef de la connaissance de la société» (Elias 1986: 13).

Bien qu'elle soit mentionnée dès 1596 par Gian Lorenzo d'Anania dans le «Système universel du monde» (La Cosmographie) et qu'elle est proclamée

indubitablement jeu national, l'*oina* a, peut-être, la plus réduite «exégèse» de l'histoire du sport roumain. Le nom du jeu est plus souvent mentionné par les écrivains dans les pages de certaines œuvres littéraires (I.L. Caragiale, Petre Ispirescu, Alexandru Davila, Mihail Sadoveanu, Ionel Teodoreanu, Grigore Popescu-Băjenaru, Marin Preda), ce qui nous détermine de surenchérir en affirmant que l'*oina* est, plutôt, un bien culturel qu'un sport.

En essence, le jeu peut être décrit ainsi: «...les joueurs d'une équipe (11+3 réserves) n'effectuent pas le même jeu pendant toute la partie, mais un jeu différent d'une reprise à l'autre. Dans une reprise une équipe se trouve *la bătaie* (au bâton), et l'autre *la prindere* (au champ). Quand l'équipe se trouve *la bătaie* elle a comme objectif principal d'obtenir autant de point supplémentaires que possible en frappant la balle avec le bâton et de passer le plus grand nombre de joueurs sans que ceux-ci soient atteints, tandis que l'équipe qui est *la prindere* a comme mission d'empêcher l'adversaire d'obtenir des points, en attrapant toute balle qui vient dans le terrain, et d'atteindre autant d'adversaires que possible. Donc deux conceptions de jeu différentes, deux possibilités, toujours différentes, d'accumulation des points. Tandis que dans les autres jeux sportifs, les membres des équipes se déplacent à leur gré sur le terrain, dans le jeu d'*oina* les joueurs ont des restrictions bien définies en ce qui concerne le positionnement et le déplacement dans le terrain. Les joueurs de l'équipe *la prindere* doivent agir dans les phases de finalisation en occupant seulement des postes fixes (du cercle) ou dans des espaces limités, quand ils doivent agir sur les diagonales. Quand ils entrent en jeu, ceux qui se trouvent *la bătaie*, sont obligés de se déplacer dans le terrain seulement par les espaces nommés couloirs, carrés ou triangles» (Rafailescu et Onițescu 1974: 11).

Conformément à cette description, le jeu nous apparaît comme une succession de normes très strictes, plutôt comme un rituel, comme une confrontation collective codifiée. Sa décodification nous révèle une organisation spatiale et une autre relationnelle, que nous interprétons comme une représentation symbolique du social.

Nous considérons que l'*oina* est une pédagogie par laquelle la société traditionnelle roumaine acquiert (réitérativement) le sens de l'ordre et, surtout, la sagesse qui, comme toute forme de connaissance, survient à la suite de la confrontation avec l'Autre, car la connaissance est une confrontation. Bien que, à la première vue, il semble agressif, violent, l'*oina* est un jeu qui élimine tout contact physique entre les joueurs, c'est pourquoi la visée du joueur adverse avec la balle est, plutôt, une forme de communication, c'est un code, car le geste du celui qui lance est suivi d'une réponse gestuelle chargée d'une symbolique spéciale. Celui qui est visé ne peut se défendre qu'avec la main: «Pour défendre son corps des coups de balle avec laquelle ils sont visés, les joueurs qui sont *la bătaie* peuvent exécuter n'importe quel mouvement du corps, mais ils ne peuvent pas

utiliser pour éloigner la balle que les paumes.» Or les paumes représentent le symbole de la connaissance. L'ennemi, l'étranger doit être connu pour être accepté ou rejeté, c'est pourquoi, l'agression de la relation, qui est biunivoque, d'ailleurs, des joueurs d'*oina* nous semble une forme de communication, donc, d'approche, plutôt qu'une forme de rejet, d'éloignement, d'élimination. En complétant nos affirmations, Annick de Souzenelle nous offre une subtile interprétation du symbolisme de la main, en se prévalant d'une nouvelle qualité de la réception: «La main, en hébreu Yad [...] est la lettre Yod [...] de la Tétragramme, elle est liée à la connaissance: Yada[...] – je connais – signifie aussi 'j'aime'. Il ne s'agit pas d'une qualité intellectuelle, mais d'une connaissance expérimentale» (Souzenelle 1999: 322). Cette réponse gestuelle semble dire que le monde extérieur et notre vie signifient la confrontation et l'acceptation de la violence seulement du désir de la communication. La violence est une loi du cosmos, et la main fait la liaison entre le corps et le cosmos, emmagasinant ainsi un pouvoir exemplaire, des expressions telles que «a pune mâna pe ceva» (mettre la main sur quelque chose), «a cere mâna cuiva» (demander la main de quelqu'un) n'étant que l'application dans la vie courante du pouvoir contenu dans la main. L'existence cosmique de l'individu suppose la relation et, implicitement, l'éventuelle violence qui précède toute espèce de connaissance, de communication, d'acceptation. À la suite d'un tel type de lecture, l'*oina* nous semble un rituel. Le jeu réitère par des gestes des préceptes essentiels tels que la nature violente du monde et de la vie, la lutte comme dialogue, l'acceptation de l'autre, symbole de l'extériorité, mais aussi prééminence du cercle, de la maison, de la règle, du soi, en un seul mot, le binôme anthropologique hospitalité / hostilité.

L'hospitalité comme rejet et acceptation se retrouve pleinement dans la structure duale de ce jeu-rituel. L'alternance des équipes *la bătaie* et *la prindere* suggère justement les sens profonds, primaires de l'hospitalité. Chacun d'entre nous joue dans la vie le rôle de maître et d'hôte. L'eternel l'Autre est initialement l'étranger, l'ennemi accueilli partout avec violence. Accueilli comme hôte, après avoir manifesté sa disponibilité pour la communication, même quand il est agressé (l'agression acceptée comme préambule du dialogue), l'autre devient tout comme le maître. Paradoxalement, dans cette dialectique subtile, les rôles sont inversés, dès maintenant, tout maître devient automatiquement le serf symbolique des son hôte. Au-delà de ces sens, l'*oina* met en valeur l'identité, la fonction de représentation. Le cercle, la maison, la famille sont les seules qui confèrent cette fonction et cette valeur et qui peuvent assurer les conditions de tout dialogue culturel, de l'hospitalité comme acceptation de l'Autre.

Analysant l'hospitalité comme institution indoeuropéenne, Benveniste établit, à la suite de la reconstitution des évolutions linguistiques, une homonymie mentalitaire entre l'ipséité et la maîtrise comme base lexicale de la dite institution socioculturelle:

*«Pour qu'un adjectif qui signifiait 'lui-même' prenne de l'ampleur jusqu'à arriver au sens de 'maître' il est nécessaire une condition: l'existence d'un cercle fermé de personnes, subordonnée à un personnage central, qui incarne la personnalité, l'identité même de ce groupe, jusqu'au point de l'englober en soi-même: c'est lui seul qui l'incarne. C'est ce qui s'est déjà passé avec la forme composée *dem-pot(i)-, 'le maître de la maison'. Le rôle du personnage désigné n'est pas celui d'exercer une commande, mais d'assumer une position de représentation qui lui confère de l'autorité sur toute la famille avec laquelle il s'identifie»* (Benveniste 1999: 72).

À notre avis, ces vérités nous obligent à translater notre méditation dans un plan supérieur, celui des relations définitoires entre toi et la science que tu représentes, comme un autre élément constitutif de la définition de l'identité.

Parler de l'hospitalité en contexte ethnologique, donc aux moyens intellectuels et textuels de l'ethnologue, c'est redéfinir les rapports entre les poétiques et les politiques dans ce contexte, redéfinir la manière dont on reconstruit le texte folklorique.

Parler de l'hospitalité en contexte ethnologique c'est redéfinir ta position au cadre de la science que tu représentes, car, par chaque texte, tu réitères la position de l'étranger qui demande de l'hospitalité, dans ces conditions, à sa discipline, à sa tradition. Mais tu sais, également, que tout savant écrit contre la tradition de la science dont il fait partie.

Dans l'ethnologie, cette constatation nous semble plus évidente que dans tout autre contexte épistémique, parce qu'aucun type d'écriture ethnologique ne peut refléter tout seul l'Autre, parce que toute écriture est une médiation, entre moi, comme auteur, et l'autre: une partialité. Au cadre de cette médiation, il est improbable que le reflet de mes stratégies culturelles, de ma culture comme modelateur de ma politique culturelle (la simple performance de produire un texte devient condition suffisante de me représenter moi-même comme un pôle de pouvoir dans le contexte où j'écris) puisse être convergent avec celles de l'autre.

De même, chacun d'entre nous vit autrement les rapports avec la tradition, en général, avec la tradition des institutions, et cet «autrement» nous éloigne textologiquement l'un de l'autre, car mon écriture contient en soi les germes de la trahison de l'autre. Comme ethnologue, j'ai hérité la tradition de ma science, un instrumentaire, un nomenclateur de théories, une archive de connaissances, un glossaire de textes, un reflex, indirectement, par l'école. L'Autre hérité est un monument, une fiction à laquelle je me rapporte quand je décris un Autre vivant, en créant pratiquement, une autre fiction, car dans l'image reflétée de l'Autre vivant gisent les résidus de l'Autre monumental, mais aussi les courants de mes stratégies culturelles, ma virtualité comme pôle de pouvoir.

Je me suis souvent demandé comment peut être décantée l'image de l'Autre de tous ces précipités culturels, quel changement rhétorique doit être produit, autour de quel principe ou notion doit être construite la nouvelle rhétorique. Notre réponse, dans ce moment de notre devenir scientifique est l'hospitalité. Nous ne savons si le principe de l'hospitalité peut être si opérant de sorte qu'il puisse se substituer aux autres principes de réception et réflexion, mais nous avons l'intuition que dans son maniabilité il existe une postérité fructueuse. C'est pourquoi nous voulons finir par affirmer que ces pages doivent être comprises comme une intuition, non pas comme un système.

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ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE AND DYNAMIC AMBIGUITY IN JAPANESE LEGENDS

RALUCA NICOLAE

In order to secure the adherence to community and its traditional values, the folk author builds his narrative discourse around some significant units, able to convey certain meanings that are put in effect in the folktale. Aware or not, the folktale author appeals to symbols regarded as impact cores, and, for that purpose, he makes use of allegories and parables from which one can see through the true intentionality of the text. Nevertheless, the symbolism inserted in the text is very much influenced by the cultural representations of the people it belongs to.

According to Japanese researchers, Japanese legends (*densetsu*) represent the core of Japanese narrative tradition, being regulated by the folk system of belief (*minkan shinkō*). Yanagita Kunio distinguished legends from fairy tales, by making an analogy to plants and animals: "legends are like plants in that they have their roots in a particular locale and they develop and change on the environmental conditions. [...] Tales on the other hand are like animals because they move around and irrespective of where they are at any one time always appear the same"[1]. Yet, the key distinction between fairy tale and legend is that "narrator and audience accept the fairy tale as fiction, while they believe the legends describe an actual happening"[2]. The legends continue to be told by people who find in them a strong personal interest. "The audience knows the names of the actors, whose descendants live in their midst, and who may indeed include their own ancestors. [...] The history in the textbooks seems distant and impersonal, the remembered traditions of the community possess the fascination of immediate concern; they happened here, to us. [...] Legends represent the folk's eye view of history"[3]. For instance, a legend about a vengeful spirit is remembered not only for its content, but also because a small shrine to appease the spirit has been placed in the neighbourhood, and in this way, the "localness" of the legend has been openly expressed.

Apart from being time-related coordinates, daytime and nighttime could also represent degrees of accuracy in the image perception. The daytime regime of

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[1] Kunio Yanagita, *The Legends of Tōno*, Tokyo, The Japan Foundation, n. d., p. XXI.
[2] Richard Dorson, *Folk Legends of Japan*, Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle, 1963, p. 18.
[3] Kunio Yanagita, Op. cit., p. XXI.

image perception brings forward the certainty, the rational explanation, the proper answer to a question. On the other hand, the nighttime type of imaginary favours the fog, the blurry shapes, the mystery and the question pending "in the air". On the physical level, the intrusion of the nighttime constituent occurs by diminishing the luminosity of the environment: cloud, smoke, fog, storm etc. On the spiritual level, the nighttime element takes action as a catalyst that triggers the process of becoming. To some extent, nighttime functions as a gestation period in which shapes are about to change and characters in the tale undergo a process of transformation; nothing is as it used to be before. In this respect, nighttime draws a parallel between (what was) "before" and (what is) "now", focusing on perpetual change and on spiritual becoming.

THE CLOUD

When you look at the sky, the cloud obstructs your free glance, coming between you and the wide sky. Actually, it modifies your point of view, distorting somehow the perspective. The cloud could be the boundary between seen and unseen, between the transcendent world and the transitory reality. The barrier created by the clouds is not permanent and unbreakable, but fluid, transparent and dynamic because it can be scattered by the wind. Kōbō Daishi[4] came to Haruna with the intention to build a few temples there. But, when he counted the number of the valleys, he realized that there were only 999, instead of one thousand, and disappointed, he left to the Takano Mountains. In fact, a couple of *tengu*[5] had been living in Haruna for a long time and they did not want any monk or temple around, so they decided to hide one of the valleys behind a cloud[6].

In the legend *Shizu and the Rain of Tears*, an acolyte of the local temple, trying to get rid of Shizu, his mistress, fled to capital, but the girl pursued him up to the mountains. When Shizu was about to reach him, a dark cloud covered him, hiding him from her vigilant eyes. The girl died out of despair and her body was buried by the local people. Her tears still hover above her grave, forming white clouds. For that reason, the nearby temple is called Haru-un (White Cloud) and the waterfall, Namida no Taki (The Waterfall of Tears)[7]. One cannot help noticing that both *yin* (the dark principle) and *yang* (the bright principle) are part of the legend,

[4] Kōbō Daishi (774-835) is a famous monk, the founder of Shingon sect, one of the main Buddhist sects of Nara period (710-794).

[5] *Tengu* is described as human in form, but winged, with long sharp nails on fingers and toes; sometimes he is depicted with a long nose and, at other times, with a pointed bill; mountain people claim to hear *tengu* felling trees and laughing in the woods (cf. Richard Dorson, *Folk Legends of Japan*, Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle, 1963, p. 62).

[6] Isa Yasuo, Imase Fumiya, Oshima Toshio, Tokuda Kazuo, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 4, (Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1987, p. 355.

[7] Aoyama Hiroki, Iwase Hiroshi, Hosen Sumihisa, Maruyama Akinori, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 9 (Mie, Nara, Ōsaka, Wakayama), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1985, p. 258.

but covering reversed segments: the *dark* cloud hides the *boy* (*yang* as masculine principle) and the *white* cloud is the product of the *girl*'s sufferings (*yin* as feminine principle).

Gaston Bachelard considered clouds as objects of daytime dreaming, materials made up by the imagination of a lazy sculptor[8]. He bound the zoomorphism of night to constellations, and that of day to the transformation in the shapes of the clouds, since the clouds help us dream of the transformation[9]. Because the perspective is blocked, the cloud creates a false or deceptive visual impression: when the weather is fine, a crone living in the Iimori Mountains takes out her laundry and dries it in the sun, but the people in the valley, looking up, see only a bunch of drifting clouds; when such clouds appear on the horizon, it is said that the weather will be fine[10]. Sometimes, to feel more protected, people try to create the illusion of the cloud on purpose: because of a giant fish living in Tōya Lake, the fishermen painted their boats in dark colours to make them look like clouds in the sky, and thus avoiding to be swallowed up by the monster[11].

In some cases, the cloud is a manifestation of the malefic forces, a sort of dark and stormy power populating the air. A dark cloud is enough for unhappiness to weight down on the entire universe[12] – asserted Gaston Bachelard, and this statement proves perfectly true in the following legend: long time ago, the Emperor became seriously ill and could not sleep at night because of the terrible noise he heard from the roof of the palace. The courtiers noticed that a dark cloud with protruding claws crept on the eastern horizon. As the emperor became very ill, a loyal samurai called Yorimasa decided to relieve his Majesty of his terrible haunting. At sunset, while he was watching the palace, "thunder crashed overhead, lightening blazed in the sky, and the wind shrieked like a pack of wild demons. But Yorimasa was a brave man, and the fury of the elements did not daunt him. When midnight came he saw a black cloud rush through the sky and rest upon the roof of the palace, stopping at the northeast[13] corner. Once more, the lightning flashed in the sky, and he saw the gleaming eyes of a large animal"[14]. After shooting arrows at it, a monster as large as a horse fell in front of him; it had the head of an ape, and the body and the claws were like those of a tiger, with a serpent's tail, wings of a bird, and the scales of a dragon. The emperor got well as soon as the monster had been killed and Yorimasa was rewarded for his services[15].

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[8] Gaston Bachelard, *Aerul şi visele* [The Air and the Dreams], Bucureşti, Univers, 1997, p. 192.

[9] Ibidem.

[10] Okabe Yoshifumi, Kashige Noriaki, Gotō Yasuhiro, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 7 (Nagano, Shizuoka, Aichi, Gifu), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1980, p. 167.

[11] Toshio Abe, Michio Shibue, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol.1 (Hokkaidō, Aomori), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1986, p. 195.

[12] Gaston Bachelard, Op. cit., p. 199.

[13] Northeast was considered the place where the malefic forces dwelled.

[14] Hadland Davis, *Myths and Legends of Japan*, New York, Dover Publications, 1992, pp. 38-39.

[15] Ibidem.

Another example of the malefic forces hidden behind clouds is the version from Sado of the legend *Yasaburō Granny*: at the foot of the Yahiko Mountains, Yasaburō earned his living by knitting nets. One day, Yasaburō spread a net to catch some birds but he was surrounded by four wolves. Scared to death, he climbed a tree, looking at the wolves that were trying to reach him. As their effort was useless, the wolves called Yasaburō granny instead. In a blink of an eye, a dark cloud appeared from west and covered Yasaburō. A frightening claw came out of the cloud and tried to catch him, but he cut it off and the creature ran away. When he got home, his mother was very sick and was lying in bed. He told her about his adventure in the woods, but, when he showed her the paw, she jumped out of the bed, grabbed the paw, stuck it firmly to her chopped arm and left the house in a hurry. When Yasaburō looked under the bed, he found human bones there, as his real mother had eaten up by the monster[16].

Some malefic traces could also be detected in a legend from Niigata prefecture, called *Okesa from Sado*: a cat, trying to repay her master's kindness, turned into a beautiful *geisha* whose name was Okesa. She earned a lot of money and sent it to her previous master. One night, the captain of a ship found Okesa licking some oil on the floor and realized that she was actually a cat. Okesa warned him not to tell anybody, but, as soon as he left town and went aboard, he revealed the secret. At that very moment, the wind started to blow and Okesa came riding on a cloud and tore the captain to pieces[17]. In this case, the cloud is but a means of transportation controlled by a vengeful spirit.

Depending on the character of the man riding on it, the cloud solidifies or disintegrates: a wicked wizard told a man who wanted to see the world to climb a certain mountain-peak, jump on the belt of clouds below and ride on them as on a horse. The gullible man did what he had been told and, in this way, he saw both human and celestial world. On arriving back at the mountain-peak, he gave his thanks to the wizard. Taken aback, the wizard decided to see with his own eyes whether it was true or not, but as soon as he stepped on the cloud, he dashed down to pieces. That night, the god of the mountain appeared to the man in dream, telling him that he had saved him from crashing down because he was good-hearted and the wizard finally got what he deserved[18].

As a symbol of the imponderable, the cloud transports pure souls from earth to sky. The function of the image of the cloud is an invitation to ascension[19]. For instance, in ancient China, clouds descended or rose from the tombs of the immortals[20]. At the age of thirty-four, the hermit En no Gyōja decided to live in a cave in the Katsuragi

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[16] Nomura Jun'ichi, Ōsaku Tokugyō, Hamaguchi Kazuo, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 3, (Yamagata, Fukushima, Niigata), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1983, pp. 111-112.

[17] Ibidem, p. 161.

[18] Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Aino Folk-Tales*, London, Folk-Lore Society Publication, 1888, p. 29.

[19] Gaston Bachelard, Op. cit., p.199.

[20] Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrand, *Dicţionar de simboluri* [Symbols Dictionary], II, Bucureşti, Artemis, 1994, p. 347.

Mountains. While walking to and fro in the mountains, the hermit found, hanging in a tree, a skeleton with a bell in its left hand and a single-pronged *vajra*[21] in its right. The skeleton's grip on these two implements was like iron and En no Gyōja was unable to pry them loose. That night, he dreamt Buddha Miroku[22] who told him that the skeleton found was his own body from a previous life and he was to chant the Mantra of the Peacock King if he wanted the two objects. En no Gyōja learnt the mantra and acquired superhuman powers. He could now fly through space whenever he wanted on a five-coloured cloud. When he returned to the tree, he found the bell and *vajra* on the ground, but the skeleton was gone[23]. In another legend from Fukuoka, a sage sat down on a rock and chanted Nenbutsu[24] and the image of Buddha appeared in the sky, surrounded by a five-coloured cloud[25]. Similarly, the sage Shōdō was praying in the Okarada Mountains when a violet cloud came up his back and stopped on the peak of the mountain. On seeing that, the sage was even more convinced that he had to reach the top of that mountain[26]. In this legend, the cloud stands for ascension, but also functions as a guiding sign towards a holy place.

Nichiren[27] preached in the Shichimen Mountains and a young woman came to listen to his sermons. In the beginning, people did not pay much attention to her, but they grew restless and went to Nichiren to ask about her. Smiling, Nichiren took some water out of a vase and poured it on the woman's head. In an instant, dark clouds appeared and a terrible storm began; the young woman turned into a dragon that flew up to the peak of the Shichimen Mountains, thanking Nichiren for his sermons. This is the origin of the celestial nymph in Shichimen[28]. In this legend from Yamanashi prefecture, the dark cloud is not of evil origin, but is "the messenger" of storm announcing that "nature is breaking loose".

THE STORM

The storm is the final display of the wrath of nature, in which take part elements such as the wind, the thunder and the lightning (as a daytime type of

[21] The word *vajra* means diamond; bolt of lightning and reffers to a Buddhist object of ritual.

[22] The next Buddha after Shaka is Miroku; in Japan he is worshipped as a deity of world renewal who will descend into our world and cover it with gold (cf. Royall Tyler, *Japanese Tales*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1987, p. xxxvix).

[23] Royall Tyler, *Japanese Tales*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1987, pp. 127-130.

[24] *Namu Amida Butsu* (buddhist prayer to Amitabha).

[25] Yamanaka Kōzō, Miyaji Takehiko, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol 13, (Fukuoka, Ōita, Saga, Nagasaki), Tokyo, Mizuuimi Shobō, 1988, p 311.

[26] Isa Yasuo, Imase Fumiya, Oshima Toshio, Tokuda Kazuo, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 4, (Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1987, p. 103.

[27] Nichiren (1222-1282) was the founder of the Nichiren Buddhist sect; his new doctrine was based on *Myōhō-renge-kyō* (sutra of the Lotus of the Good Law); even his name means "lotus of the sun" (cf. E. Papinot, *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*, Tōkyō, Charles E. Tuttle, 1992, p. 438).

[28] Ōshima Yoshitaka, Okabe Yoshifumi, Tsuneaki Tōru, Hirano Kaoru, Miyata Nori, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 5, (Chiba, Saitama, Tōkyō, Kanagawa, Yamanashi), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1987, p. 360.

symbol) and the cloud (as a nighttime type of symbol because it blocks the light). Only by the violent move of the air, we can understand the primary wrath, which is pure motion[29]. Making use of this wrath, the world is created as a challenge. Wrath produces the dynamic being. Wrath is the action that starts everything[30]. An itinerant Buddhist priest, seeing a fisherman killing a lot of fish, asked him to stop, but the man started laughing and threw some arrowroot (*Maranta Arundinaceea*) at him. The monk chanted a sutra and a terrible storm arose. The young fisherman fainted. Afterwards the river dried up and all the arrowroot on the riverbank faded away[31].

The storm takes you away from one world and induces a new perspective on life, as another alternative to the life left behind, since great beginnings and great ends occur only in stormy weather[32]. The break with the old world is the main motif in the legend *The Fishermen's Battle*: long ago, in Kaga, there lived a group of seven fishermen. One day, while fishing at sea, the wind began blowing in violent gusts and the boat was tossed about by angry waves. After a while, they sighted an island out on the horizon and began rowing towards it. Finally the fishermen landed on the shore. Suddenly a good-looking man appeared and told them that he had been waiting for them for a long time and that he was the one who had caused the storm. The fishermen realized that he was no ordinary man and the storm was god's will[33]. The young god confessed that he needed their help to defeat his enemy who was also living on that island. He warned them that he was not a human being and he would appear in his real form the following day. Next morning, the fishermen saw a big centipede coming down to the beach, followed by an enormous serpent. After glaring at each other, the animals started a fierce battle. The fishermen heard the serpent crying for help and they showered arrows on the centipede till it was dead. The young man came limping towards them, thanked them for their support and invited them to live on this fertile island, together with their families[34].

The storm grants a different status as well as a different identity to the three sisters in the legend *The Origin of the Hayaike Peak*: long ago, a god, accompanied by his three daughters, set out on a journey, but the sky became cloudy and wind and rain started soon. The god took out his flute and blew it till the storm lulled, but, unfortunately, he could not find any of his daughters because they had been carried away by the wind. The first sister became the goddess of Kayamori, the second one, of Saigoshi, and the last one, of Hegi[35].

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[29] Gaston Bachelard, Op. cit., p. 233.

[30] Ibidem, p. 235.

[31] Narita Osamu, Ōzaki Kazuhiro, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 2 (Akita, Iwate, Miyagi), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1986, p. 67.

[32] Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrand, Op. cit., vol. II, p. 80.

[33] In the main – stated Gaston Bachelard – "the origin of the wind is more important than its purpose" (cf. Bachelard, Op. cit., p. 242).

[34] Hiroshi Naito, *Legends of Japan*, Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle, 1973, pp. 12-16.

[35] Narita Osamu, Ōzaki Kazuhiro, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 2 (Akita, Iwate, Miyagi), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1986, p. 24.

In other cases, the storm can only be lulled by a human sacrifice: prince Yamato was constantly ignoring his wife, Ototachibana, because he had fallen in love with another woman, but he let his wife join him on a journey. No sooner had he and his wife embarked and started the trip, than a great storm arose. The crew had taken down the sails in the hope of steadying the vessel, but the storm grew worse. Ototachibana arose, and, forgiving all the sorrow her husband had caused her, she resolved to sacrifice her life in order to save her beloved husband. She leapt into the waves and in a moment they dragged her out of sight. Then prince Yamato safely reached his destination but never forgot the sacrifice of his wife[36]. The storm in the legend has a double significance: to Ototachibana, it meant the sacrifice of her own life to pacify her cruel fate, and, to prince Yamato, it meant self-examination and a deep inner look that made him see his wife in a different light.

THE SMOKE

The cloud and the smoke are similar in nature but they have different degrees of materiality. This gradation smoke-cloud is depicted in a legend called *Oshira-sama* from Iwate prefecture: after her horse-husband, Senda Kurige, had been killed and his skin hung in a mulberry tree, a woman would not go out of the house. One evening, the wind started to blow harshly and the whole house was covered by black smoke. Then, Senda Kurige appeared, took the woman on his back and they flew in the sky. A *miko* priestess told her family that their daughter was still alive and they had to wait patiently till 16th of October. On that very day, a cloud appeared from west, stopped above the house and a box with two worms in it fell off that cloud. The woman's family took the box to the place where the horse's skin had been hung and put the worms on the leaves of the nearby mulberry tree. The worms started to eat the leaves, grew up and produced silk threads[37].

The smoke also stands for the lack of corporality and shape. Although it still belongs to a "weakened" physicalness, the smoke is an indicator of the ghost presence in human world. A handsome samurai lived with his beautiful wife and they loved each other very much. After a while, his wife became seriously ill and no medicine was effective. Before dying, his wife took his hand and told him that she would be very sad if he remarried, but the samurai answered that she should not worry about that. The time passed and the samurai became lonely. The memory of his previous wife faded and he married a new wife. One day, the samurai went away on business and did not return home that night. When his new wife went to bed, she realized that a woman as hazy as smoke was looking at her.

[36] Hadland Davis, Op. cit., pp. 55-56.

[37] Narita Osamu, Ōzaki Kazuhiro, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 2 (Akita, Iwate, Miyagi), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1986, pp. 154-155.

The spirit touched her face with icy hands and the wife thought it must be the ghost of the first wife. Afterwards, whenever her husband was not at home the ghost would appear at night and worry the wife till she could not bear it any longer and went back to her family. The husband held a ceremony on the anniversary of his first wife's death. That night, the candlelight flicked and the first wife appeared like a cloud of smoke just in front of her sister who had come for the ceremony. The sister cried out and the ghost disappeared, but the *futon*[38] was wet with water[39].

In another version of *Yasaburō Granny* from the town Yasuzuka (Niigata prefecture), the story develops in a similar way: Yasaburō is attacked by a pack of wolves lead by a dreadful creature. He manages somehow to cut off the paw of the monster and runs home to tell his mother what happened, but finds her very sick. She grabs the chopped arm, goes upstairs and turns into smoke that is instantly carried away by the wind. Because the monster disappeared in a cloud of smoke[40], in Makino it is forbidden to produce smoke of any kind as the old woman could return in a similar manner[41].

The smoke is also used as magic repellent because it can cast off dangerous animals or even evil spirits: after the siege of the nearby castle, one of the attackers got away. A brave man called Miyoshi pursued him up to a cave. He took some tobacco out of his pocket, light it and the smoke drove away the bear living in the cave. On his way, he encountered a huge snake, but blew the smoke of the tobacco towards it and the serpent went away. Realizing that tobacco could ward off evil spirits[42], Miyoshi took up an ascetic life and was deeply revered by the local people[43]. From time to time, Miyoshi comes down to the village to get some tobacco. That is why every villager sets some tobacco on the family altar, just in case Miyoshi appears and feels like smoking[44].

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[38] Japanese style bedding.

[39] Richard Dorson, Op. cit., pp. 100-101.

[40] In other legends, the old woman would travel on clouds; this was the reason why during the Azumano festival held on the 13th of September, it was said that it would certainly rain because the old woman emerged on a cloud (cf. Nomura Jun'ichi, Ōsaku Tokugyō, Hamaguchi Kazuo, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 3, (Yamagata, Fukushima, Niigata), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1983, p. 120-121).

[41] Nomura Jun'ichi, Ōsaku Tokugyō, Hamaguchi Kazuo, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 3, (Yamagata, Fukushima, Niigata), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1983, p. 118.

[42] In the legend *The Huge Serpent in the Mountains*, a man, after gathering some wood for the fire, rested near a tree and noticed a small snake moving up to his feet. Remembering that his grandfather advised him to cast off animals with tabacco smoke, he took out a cigarette and blew the smoke towards the snake. The snake went away in an instant. Very pleased with himself, the man, leant against the tree and tried to rest, but he felt the tree shaking behind his back. Looking up, he finally realized that the tree was actually a huge serpent and the small snake was only trying to get to his parent. (cf. Ikehara Shōji, *Nihon no minwa 300*, Tokyo, Mokuba Shoten, 1994, p. 396).

[43] (The fugitive went mad and eventually died).

[44] Narita Osamu, Ōzaki Kazuhiro, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 2 (Akita, Iwate, Miyagi), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1986, pp. 40-41.

THE FOG

The fog represents the movement from one state to another, being a symbol of the undetermined, an evolutionary phase in which the shapes are hazy or the old forms, about to disappear, are not yet replaced by new, accurate forms[45]. Long ago, a beautiful lady humbly clad asked for lodging at the Chofuku temple. The priest pitied her and let her stay in the temple, half as a guest, half as a servant. One day, the girl, whose name was Otowa, went gathering bracken, but, before she knew, she approached Mt. Kinkoku, which abominated the presence of women. Unaware of that fact, the young woman washed her underwear, which she had stained, in the pond by the wayside. Strangely enough, the pond rapidly enlarged, leaving a spot where Otowa stood in the centre like a floating island. The god of the pond told her that he had been waiting for her as his successor. After innumerable pleas, the god gave her three day's grace to return to the village, assuring her that he would send for her on the appointed day. When she reached the temple, she told the priest about the events at the pond. When the three days had passed, the weeping Otowa headed for the mountains where she met a noble man on a white horse, clothed in white and wearing a gold sword. He picked her up on the saddle and disappeared in the morning mist. "For seven days the mountain was covered with fog. On the seventh day, a heavy rain fell, which covered heaven and earth with darkness"[46]. The village people say that during that rain the god of the pond ascended to heaven and Otowa became goddess in his place[47].

In most cases, the fog announces the presence of a god who, for unknown reasons, does not want to be seen by human eyes and hides in the fog. On her way to the Haruna temple, the princess Kibe became thirsty and entered a lake to drink some water, but, because she had wetted her hips, she, and all the ladies in wait, turned into crabs. Ever since, the people who came to the Haruna temple to pray are forbidden to eat crab flesh. On the 5th of May[48], the people who are fond of the princess Kibe, throw red rice[49] into the lake. One day, a hunter went to the Haruna Mountains. While tracking down some wild animals, a thick fog covered him and the hunter fainted. When he came to his senses, he found two (crab) scales by him. It is said that because the goddess of the lake wanted to go ashore, she produced the fog and hid herself behind[50].

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[45] Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrand Chevalier, Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 278-279.

[46] Richard Dorson, Op.cit., p. 238

[47] Ibidem, pp. 236-238.

[48] The Boys' Festival (*Tango no sekku*) takes place on the the 5th of May when the towns and villages are adorned with gigantic paper or cotton carps, floating in the air from poles; the idea is that as the carp swims up the river against the current, so will the boy overcome the obstacles and make his way in the world.

[49] Red rice is used for auspicious occasions.

[50] Isa Yasuo, Imase Fumiya, Oshima Toshio, Tokuda Kazuo, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 4, (Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1987, p. 32.

In the following legend from Gunma prefecture, a kind god gives a helping hand to a man who is racking his brains about building up a castle. In contrast with the previous folktale, the god's main concern is not to avoid being seen, but to protect human eyes from the open display of his supernatural powers. A carpenter, who was to build the nearby castle, sat on the riverbank, thinking hard about the design of the edifice. At noon, white fog covered everything and he saw a pair of golden eyes in the middle of the mist. Straining his eyes, the carpenter noticed a fox[51] walking back and forth and tracing some marks on the ground. Gradually the odd marks changed into red lines that seemed to make up a plan. After finishing drawing, the fox headed eastward and disappeared. The carpenter copied the design of the castle line by line and was praised by the feudal lord for his accomplishments[52].

THE BECOMING

Night provides the perfect cover for strange things that are about to happen. The daytime shapes are changing and ready for dramatic transformation: a framed picture of a horse was set at the temple in Kobuchisawa village. Since every night the field had been ravaged and the crops ruined, the villagers sent there a guard who noticed that a mysterious horse came up every night and ruined the crops. He followed the horse, and, to his surprise, saw the horse entering the gate of the temple and disappearing. Learning about this strange event, the priest realized that the horse had got out of the picture at the temple. The temple painter drew a stick and bound the horse to it, but, unfortunately, forgot to draw some food and the animal grew weaker and weaker and perished[53]. In a similar legend from Saitama prefecture, called *The Tiger on the Votive Picture,* every night a tiger broke loose from the Anraku temple where goddess Kannon[54] is worshipped and devastated the nearby fields. Realizing that it was the tiger in the votive picture, the priest had to cut off its hinder legs to stop it and the tiger's body was scarred for good. Moreover, every July the colour of the wounds becomes brighter than ever[55]. In both legends, the daytime needs are satisfied during night, because night provides perfect cover for both animals in the picture, turning them into living things.

Every evolution is marked by a double destiny[56]: one ascendant and one descendent. The descent is activated to favour ascension[57] because the abyss

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[51] Inari, the deity of cereals, can appear in fox form.

[52] Isa Yasuo, Imase Fumiya, Oshima Toshio, Tokuda Kazuo, Op. cit., p. 99.

[53] Ōshima Yoshitaka, Okabe Yoshifumi, Tsuneaki Tōru, Hirano Kaoru, Miyata Nori, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 5, (Chiba, Saitama, Tōkyō, Kanagawa, Yamanashi), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1987, p. 231.

[54] Goddess of mercy.

[55] Ōshima Yoshitaka, Okabe Yoshifumi, Tsuneaki Tōru, Hirano Kaoru, Miyata Nori, *Nihon densetsu taikei*, vol. 5, (Chiba, Saitama, Tōkyō, Kanagawa, Yamanashi), Tokyo, Mizuumi Shobō, 1987, p. 229

[56] Gaston Bachelard, Op. cit., p. 272.

[57] Ibidem, pp. 271-272.

where the wise dragon lies is but a "waiting room" for germination. Nevertheless, the germination occurs only at the moment the spirit unchains itself from its bodily bonds. Buddha knows too well that jumping in the darkness is a simple illusion because "things are not what they are but what they become"[58]. While the dark shadows of the night crept over the country, Buddha walked slowly on his way to the city. On nearing his destination, Buddha heard a voice chanting: "the outward manner is not always an index to natural disposition"[59]. The words came from a precipice and Buddha looked down and perceived an extremely ugly dragon gazing up with angry eyes. The dragon coiled himself around and shouted with a great voice: "all living things are antagonistic to the law of Buddha"[60], and, after being silent for some time, he shouted again: "all living things must die"[61]. The dragon informed Buddha that the next truth was the last one and that he could not reveal it until he had eaten human flesh. Although his religion forbade the destruction of life, Buddha decided to sacrifice himself to find out the supreme truth. The dragon opened his mouth and said: "the greatest happiness is experienced after the soul has left the body"[62]. Buddha bowed and sprang into the mouth of the dragon. No sooner had he touched the jaws of the monster, than they suddenly divided into eight parts and in a moment changed into the eight petals of the Golden Lotus[63].

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Nobody could ever imagine the same cloud hanging in the sky for weeks or a "quiet" storm in which the wind does not blow, the trees do not bend and black clouds are but props in a motionless picture. The cloud moves back and forth in the sky on an aerial horizontal, while the smoke moves upwards and downwards on a vertical axis connecting our world to one above[64]. The ability to move freely has transformed the cloud and the smoke into "unconventional" vehicles controlled either by good forces (En no Gyōja, the sage Shōdō) or by evil powers (*Yasaburō Granny*). With respect to the storm, the horizontal or vertical axes are no longer functional because the movement is chaotic and has powerful impact on human world. The fog is a harmless phenomenon and, in contrast with the cloud, the smoke or the storm, the element of motion is of secondary interest because the focus is on obscuring and hiding, not on moving.

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[58] Gaston Bachelard, *Apa şi visele* [The Water and the Dreams], Bucureşti, Univers, 1999, p. 51.
[59] Hadland Davis, Op. cit., p. 80.
[60] Ibidem, p. 81.
[61] Ibidem.
[62] Ibidem.
[63] Ibidem, pp. 80-82.
[64] Not necessarily a better world (the monster in *Yasaburō Granny* gets away after turning herself into a cloud of smoke).

Needless to say that the crossing points for all these atmospheric phenomena are *motion*, *concealing* and *becoming*. The forms are hidden or perceived from a limited perspective, making room for ambiguous forms and symbols that stand for inner growth and perpetual transformation because the whole world dreams of becoming. In the precipice, the dragon is waiting for Buddha's evening walk in order to be born again in another form, because Buddha is the only one who can set him free and restore his real identity. Maybe at this very moment, another new-born dragon starts waiting for his becoming... And the world starts waiting with him...

FORME DELLA RELIGIOSITÀ PRIMITIVA: RITI SOLSTIZIALI PRESSO LE MINORANZE GERMANICHE DELLE ALPI MERIDIONALI

ALBERTO CASTALDINI

1. LE ORIGINI PRECRISTIANE DELLA FESTA

Nell'immaginario folklorico dell'Occidente è assai radicata la ricorrenza di San Giovanni Battista, quel 24 giugno durante il quale in antico, in occasione del solstizio estivo, veniva solennemente celebrata la festa della dea *Fors Fortuna,* e che dopo la fine dei cicli pagani, all'interno dell'opera di conversione culturale e religiosa attuata dal cristianesimo, divenne il non meno significativo ricordo liturgico del Battista.[1]

Giovanni il Battista vanta una sorta di posizione privilegiata nel novero dei santi e dei beati della Chiesa. Egli infatti, dopo essere divenuto il nume di una festa di passaggio stagionale dai profondi significati mitico-rituali, dalle notevoli implicazioni teologiche e liturgiche, è l'unico fra i santi del calendario cattolico romano ad essere commemorato nel suo *dies natalis* terreno.

San Giovanni Battista è nella narrazione evangelica l'annunciatore della missione di Cristo. Sono le stesse Scritture – precisamente il Vangelo dell'altro Giovanni, il discepolo prediletto – a suggellare quello che è il più profondo significato della sua missione: "Illum (Jesum) oportet crescere, me autem minui."[2] Parole queste che dal piano strettamente scritturale si proiettano su quello magico-rituale del calendario: al natale del Battista, coincidente con il vertice della luce estiva e l'inizio del suo calare, si contrappone idealmente a distanza di sei mesi quello del Cristo, quando il sole ricomincia la sua ascesa dopo essere arrivato al punto più basso della sua forza energetica.

I dati storico-religiosi ascrivibili all'antichità rinviano all'epoca romana (ma è noto come il solstizio estivo fosse celebrato anche dai babilonesi e dai greci), quando il 24 giugno era detto anche *dies lampadarum*, cioè il "giorno delle fiaccole", e i Romani vi inauguravano la mietitura compiendo nei campi una

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[1] V. Lanternari, *Occidente e Terzo Mondo*, Bari, Dedalo, 1972, p. 330; cfr. poi J. G. Frazer, *Il ramo d'oro*, vol. II, Torino, Boringhieri, 1973, p. 973 e ss.

[2] Gv. 3, 30.

REF/JEF, *1*, p. 31–40, Bucureşti, 2007

processione con delle torce accese in onore di Cerere, divinità che incarnava la Terra Madre, supremo elemento femminile della ritualità agraria. Nel noto processo di adattamento delle ricorrenze pagane a quelle cristiane, se il calendario della Chiesa sostituì alle celebrazioni del *Sol invictus* quella del Natale (e il Cristo nell'immaginario dei credenti è ritenuto significativamente il "nuovo sole della Storia"), al *solstitium* estivo del calendario romano adattò il natale del Battista.[3]

Il giorno di San Giovanni Battista si giustappose in questo modo alla festa della fecondità tellurica e della rigenerazione cosmica, solennizzate in un periodo nel quale accanto all'abbondanza del raccolto si coglievano nel cielo i segni dell'effimera durata della bella stagione, i presagi di un ciclo stagionale che inevitabilmente volgeva al termine. Il dato è estremamente rilevante in quanto fa comprendere come in una società arcaica a prevalente economia agro-pastorale resistessero nella mentalità magica quegli stessi cicli immanenti che il messaggio cristiano aveva abbattuto sul piano culturale. Ciò viene confermato anche sul piano della partecipazione all'evento. Attorno alla festa si generava una sorta di *pathos* collettivo e individuale (lo noteremo più avanti nella rigida osservanza comunitaria della sequenza rituale: l'accensione del fuoco, in determinate aree etnostoriche il salto della fiamma, la conservazione dei tizzoni e della cenere, la confezione di erbe medicinali) che denota quella che è la pura e spontanea drammatizzazione dell'evento sacrale. Va chiarito però sin da subito che l'atteggiamento dei "fedeli" non era frutto esclusivo di una "rappresentazione ritualizzata", ma – come solitamente avviene all'origine di queste manifestazioni – l'espressione di un'ansia profonda, prodotto di quella che – riandando a Lucien Lévy-Bruhl – chiamiamo "la mentalità primitiva".[4]

Un bisogno questo che costantemente è riemerso anche in età moderna nelle plaghe più civilizzate dell'Occidente. Ricorda infatti Mircea Eliade che è l'agricoltura a rivelare nel modo più drammatico il mistero della rigenerazione vegetale:

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[3] V. Lanternari, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

[4] "In presenza di qualcosa che l'interessa, che l'inquieta o che la spaventa, la mente del primitivo non segue la stessa via della nostra. Imbocca subito una strada diversa. Noi abbiamo un senso continuo di sicurezza intellettuale così saldo che non vediamo come potrebbe essere scosso. [...] Così la natura in seno alla quale viviamo è, per così dire, intellettualizzata in anticipo. Essa è ordine e ragione, come la mente che la pensa e che vi si muove. La nostra attività quotidiana, fin nei suoi più umili particolari, implica una tranquilla e perfetta fiducia nell'invariabilità delle leggi naturali. Ben diverso è l'atteggiamento mentale del primitivo. La natura in seno alla quale egli vive gli si presenta in tutt'altro aspetto. Tutti gli oggetti e tutti gli esseri sono implicati in una rete di partecipazioni e di esclusioni mistiche: esse anzi ne costituiscono il contesto e l'ordine. Son dunque esse che si imporranno prima di tutto alla sua attenzione, e esse sole la tratterranno. Se è interessato da un fenomeno, se non si limita a percepirlo, per così dire passivamente e senza reagire, egli penserà subito, come per una specie di riflesso mentale, a una potenza occulta e invisibile di cui questo fenomeno è la manifestazione". L. Lévy-Bruhl, *La mentalità primitiva*, Torino, Einaudi, 1981, p. 20. Si veda poi dello stesso autore *L'anima primitiva*, Torino, Einaudi, 1948.

Nel cerimoniale e nella tecnica agricola l'uomo - osserva Eliade - interviene direttamente: la vita vegetale e il sacro della vegetazione non sono più per lui cosa esterna: egli vi partecipa, manipolandoli e scongiurandoli. Per l'uomo "primitivo", l'agricoltura, come ogni altra attività essenziale, non è una semplice tecnica profana. Essendo in relazione con la vita e ricercando l'accrescimento prodigioso della vita presente nei semi, nei solchi, nella pioggia e nei geni della vegetazione, l'agricoltura è anzitutto un rituale.[5]

Il nostro breve assunto demo-antropologico, relativo alle minoranze germaniche di origine medievale delle Prealpi venete e trentine, intende perciò evidenziare un dato indiscutibile. Fino agli anni Trenta del XX secolo, molti aspetti della religiosità allogena si sarebbero caratterizzati per una connotazione visibilmente "primitiva", nel senso convenzionale che gli etnologi attribuiscono a questo termine grazie anche ad una serie di fattori culturali e geografici (non da ultimo la naturale chiusura della comunità nei confronti del mondo esterno), e in virtù di quella inveterata concezione secondo la quale alle "forze supreme" nulla di ciò che si verifica su questo mondo è impossibile.

2. MANIFESTAZIONI DEL RITO PRESSO I CIMBRI E I MÒCHENI

Da un punto di vista classificatorio l'usanza di accendere i fuochi rituali rientrerebbe nei riti di lustrazione, cioè di purificazione da ogni negatività, malattia od ossessione. Con il fuoco veniva purificata l'abitazione la sera della vigilia, e saltando sopra la fiamma si provvedeva a liberare il corpo da ogni influsso malefico. Al rito di purificazione era strettamente legato quello augurale: all'eliminazione di un passato doloroso doveva seguire un futuro propizio. In questo avvicendarsi va individuata la particolare valenza magica della notte di San Giovanni, durante la quale, come nella notte di Natale, secondo la credenza popolare è possibile il verificarsi di qualsiasi prodigio. Non solo. La ricorrenza denota la sua natura di "cerimonia o festa di passaggio", che inaugura la nascita di una fase totalmente nuova della vita sopra i ruderi di quella passata, per questo portatrice di fecondità e benessere. La presenza dei giovani, in particolare delle fanciulle, durante il rito lustrale lo conferma.[6]

Nel folklore di area tedesca – dove il solstizio estivo è celebrato *ab immemorabili* – il fuoco giovanneo è chiamato *Johannisfeuer*[7] e il rito del falò era un tempo naturalmente diffuso anche fra i Cimbri, coloni giunti a partire dai secoli

[5] M. Eliade, *Trattato di storia delle religioni*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1988, p. 342.

[6] V. Lanternari, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-333; sui rituali del fuoco cfr. P. Toschi, *Il folklore*, Roma, Studium, 1960, pp. 71-72. Il folklorista romagnolo ricorda che sono due le principali teorie interpretative a riguardo: l'una vede nei fuochi la sopravvivenza di culti solari o del fuoco; l'altra riconosce il valore magico-profilattico delle fiamme che purificano gli uomini e le cose. *Ibidem*, p. 71.

[7] *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. IV, Berlin -Leipzig, W. De Gruyter & Co., 1931-32, coll. 733-740.

XI-XII dalle zone al confine tra Baviera e Tirolo soggette all'Abbazia benedettina di Benediktbeuern, e insediatisi come boscaioli (*Tzimberer*) sulle montagne fra le attuali province di Verona, Trento e Vicenza. Il dato storico è ad ulteriore conferma del radicamento dell'elemento germanico in quelle zone (attualmente – secondo il censimento del 2001 – la comunità di lingua baiuvara è composta da circa 2230 persone, di cui 862 residenti nella Provincia di Trento). L'abate Agostino Dal Pozzo, antesignano di quegli etnologi che analizzarono sul campo la vita tradizionale dei Cimbri, nelle sue *Memorie Istoriche* (1820) afferma che l'usanza di accendere "dei gran fuochi nella sera innanzi la festa di San Giovanni Battista, intorno ai quali (i valligiani, *ndr*) fanno un gran chiasso e menan tripudio", era fortemente rispettata. Dal Pozzo, nativo del comune di Rotzo, uno dei più isolati e culturalmente conservativi Sette Comuni cimbri di Vicenza (comunità di autogoverno analoga a quella dei Tredici Comuni di Verona), scrive poi che:

> *tali fuochi avevano data occasione ad altre pratiche superstiziose. Se ne conservavano religiosamente i tizzoni, come pure cert'erbe che avevano fatte passar sopra le fiamme di que' fuochi, da quali credevano che acquistassero virtù singolari.*[8]

Quali i particolari riscontri ritualistici del fuoco detto tradizionalmente "di san Giovanni" in ambito cimbro? Il glottologo bavarese Bruno Schweizer, che a più riprese negli anni Trenta del secolo scorso soggiornò sull'altopiano vicentino e nella Lessinia orientale (altopiano a nord della città di Verona), dichiara come nei Sette Comuni il falò venisse ottenuto bruciando della legna o della paglia e che l'usanza era presente a Foza, comune occidentale posto su di un crinale affacciato sulla Valle del Brenta, mentre a Giazza, nei Tredici Comuni cimbri Veronesi, se ne era persa ogni memoria.[9] Anche i Mòcheni trentini (nome derivato forse dal verbo *mòchen*, "fare"), coloni germanici insediatisi a più riprese attorno al comprensorio della Valsugana (Trento) fra i secoli XIII e XVI (in base al censimento del 2001 la popolazione mòchena è costituita da 2.276 abitanti), osservavano questa pratica calendariale dai forti riscontri magico-rituali, e nella vallata che da loro prende il nome si credeva un tempo che nella notte straordinaria di San Giovanni Battista venissero persino prodigiosamente riattivate le miniere perdute. Chiunque si fosse trovato nel posto giusto e all'ora indicata le avrebbe potute individuare prodigiosamente.[10] Per il Cadore, un folklorista di fine Ottocento, l'avvocato Giambattista Bastanzi, soffermandosi sulle superstizioni delle Alpi venete, annota come i montanari bellunesi spargessero le ceneri dei falò rituali per frenare le

[8] A. Dal Pozzo, *Memorie Istoriche del Sette Comuni Vicentini*, Schio, Stabilimento Grafico G. Miola, 1910, rist. Vicenza, Rumor, 1980, p. 137.

[9] B. Schweizer, *Usanze popolari cimbre nel corso dell'anno*, Giazza-Verona, Taucias Gareida, 1982, p.106.

[10] *Ibidem*, p. 107.

frane.[11] Inoltre in questa giornata speciale veniva ucciso un gallo ormai vecchio, nel quale la tradizione amava riconoscere il medesimo pennuto che, arrivato al settimo anno di vita, avrebbe generato l'uovo da cui sarebbe nato il mitico basilisco.[12]

Tornando all'area demologica d'oltralpe, alla quale inevitabilmente dobbiamo operare continui riferimenti, nei territori tedeschi era radicato l'uso di bere in onore del santo la cosiddetta *Tauferminne,* ovvero la "bevuta del Battista",[13] un uso suggestivo carico di significati teurgici simile alla più nota *Johannisminne*, quel sorso di vino benedetto, e non consacrato, che i fedeli assumevano il 27 dicembre nella festività di San Giovanni Evangelista.[14] Come è facilmente intuibile entrambe le libagioni rituali (nel caso di quella dell'Evangelista veniva predisposto uno specifico rituale paraliturgico) miravano ad allontanare le malattie e ogni sorta di influsso malefico.

Tra i Cimbri veneti e trentini radicata era la credenza legata alle virtù terapeutiche contenute nella rugiada formatasi nella notte di San Giovanni. Per Giazza è Bruno Schweizer che conferma l'uso di esporre alla porta o alla finestra una bottiglia d'acqua. Il liquido, grazie alla guazza notturna, sarebbe stato benedetto per intercessione del santo decollato. L'acqua ricavata veniva successivamente impiegata per abluzioni ritenute miracolose.[15] Ancora a Ljetzan (Giazza), nella magica notte del Battista, gli ammalati (ma alla pratica non si sottraevano nemmeno i sani, con evidente scopo scongiuratorio) si rotolavano svestiti sull'erba dei prati, sperando di essere risanati se le parti inferme fossero venute a contatto con la rugiada benefica.[16] Anche la tradizione dei Mòcheni ci rivela suggestive credenze naturalistiche, estranee però alle nozioni della fitoterapia. Nelle loro valli minerarie infatti non mancavano coloro che nella notte prodigiosa andavano alla ricerca disperata di stranissime felci fiorite che, come la leggendaria pietra filosofale, avrebbero trasformato i metalli in oro.[17]

Agostino Dal Pozzo fu sempre fedele alla linea ufficiale mantenuta dalle autorità ecclesiastiche dell'epoca nei confronti degli eccessi superstiziosi della vita tradizionale del suo popolo. L'abate di Rotzo per questa ragione criticò nei suoi scritti quei giovani settecomunigiani che "avevano la pazzia di piantare in quella

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[11] G. Bastanzi, *Le superstizioni delle alpi venete*, Treviso, 1888, rist. Bologna, Forni, 1973, p.121.

[12] *Ibidem,* p. 199.

[13] *Handwörterbuch*, cit., coll. 757-760.

[14] *Ibidem*, col. 745 e ss.; sulla *libatio* giovannea presso i Cimbri cfr. poi Alberto Castaldini, *Il calice di san Giovanni. Il culto di san Giovanni Evangelista nella religiosità dei Cimbri*, Roana (Vicenza), Istituto di Cultura Cimbra "A. Dal Pozzo", 1995, e la successiva edizione austriaca accresciuta: *Der Kelch des heiligen Johannes. Die Vehrerung des heiligen Evangelisten Johannes in den zimbrisch-deutschen Sprachinseln*, Wien, Edition Praesens, 1998.

[15] B. Schweizer, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[16] *Ibidem.*

[17] *Ibidem,* p. 106.

notte l'erba e i fiori detti sproni militari, e credevano che da quella parte dove li trovavano inclinati la mattina soggiornasse la giovane che portava loro maggiore affetto". Dal Pozzo, allarmato per l'entusiasmo giovanile sollevato dalla festività, ammonisce sul fatto che nella notte precedente la festa del Battista

> *gli stregoni raccogliessero l'erbe delle quali si servivano per fare i pretesi loro prestigi, malefizi, come sarebbe l'iperico chiamato dai tedeschi: S. Johannes Kraut.*[18]

Concludiamo la nostra carrellata di testimonianze con la curiosa nozione di economia domestica riportata dai resoconti dell'Inchiesta etnologica del 1811 sugli usi e i costumi del Regno Italico, disposta dalle autorità napoleoniche nei territori dell'Impero. Le massaie del dipartimento dell'Adige, il 24 giugno oltre a raccogliere nell'orto l'aglio e la cipolla (che grazie agli influssi benefici di quel giorno si sarebbero conservati più a lungo nella dispensa di casa), esponendo nottetempo alla benefica rugiada vestiti e coperte, ne preservavano l'integrità dall'azione vorace delle tarme.[19]

3. CONCLUSIONI. DAL RITO ALLA COSTRUZIONE DI UNA COSCIENZA STORICA

La festa del Battista rappresenta un "rito di passaggio stagionale" o "rito del calendario" (C. Tullio-Altan), in cui – come hanno messo in evidenza Wilhelm Mannhardt in *Wald und Feld-Kulte* (Berlino, Gebr. Bornträge, 1875) e J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (London, MacMillan, 1911-1915) – l'elemento più significativo dello schema rituale è "la drammatizzazione dell'idea di morte, dell'attesa, di rinascita".[20] La stagione muore e risorge in ossequio ad immutabili cicli, e con essa le forze che secondo le credenze presiedono alla vita del mondo naturale, tanto che nelle società più arcaiche la stessa vita sociale risulta condizionata dai ritmi cosmici, subendo nel momento più drammatico un arresto. Ma *l'eterno ritorno* (M. Eliade) contribuisce ad attutire l'angoscia; in questo modo la fiducia primordiale, istintuale, degli uomini fa ben presto la propria comparsa. Così è avvenuto per il solstizio d'estate che i coloni germanici delle Alpi meridionali hanno solennizzato per secoli.

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[18] A. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 147; cfr. a riguardo il già citato *Handwörterbuch*, coll. 743-745; anche lo storico Jacques-Benigne Bossuet inorridì quando alla fine del secolo XVII essendo vescovo di Meaux, in Francia, il 24 giugno vide "ballare intorno a i fuochi, darsi ai conviti [...] raccogliere erbe a mezzodì, o a digiuno, portarne indosso, conservarle tutto l'anno, custodirne carboni di fuoco [...]" (cit. in Lanternari, *op. cit.*, p. 343).

[19] G. Tassoni, *Arti e tradizioni popolari. Le inchieste napoleoniche sugli usi e i costumi del Regno Italico*, Bellinzona, Casagrande, 1973, pp. 206-207. Per contro a Serrada di Folgaria (Trento) si crede che la notte di San Giovanni siano le streghe a raccogliere le erbe con cui confezionare sortilegi e infusi malefici.

[20] A. Van Gennep, *I riti di passaggio*, Tonino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1981, p. 157.

Se l'immaginario arcaico degli allogeni non si liberò – complice, lo ripetiamo, l'isolamento geografico – dal dovere di assolvere collettivamente a quel rito, allo stesso tempo in quel "fuoco sacro", che rappresentava visivamente il "margine" tra due condizioni dell'essere, tra un mondo passato e uno nuovo (che racchiudeva in sé tutte le incognite del futuro), vanno colti i segnali di un riscatto, che dal piano mitico si riversa immediatamente su quello storico.[21] Il fuoco stesso è infatti solo per metà manifestazione della potenza incontrollabile della natura: l'uomo lo produce e ne fa lo strumento privilegiato attraverso il quale rapportarsi alla dimensione metaterrena[22] e alla propria interiorità. Il fuoco rituale o "fuoco di gioia" è un fuoco "forzato", "necessario" – per usare le espressioni di Gastone Bachelard – che l'uomo determina non solo perché dalle sue fiamme trae l'utile (le ceneri benefiche), ma anche per la piacevolezza che la preparazione e la celebrazione delle medesime determinano. A ciò non è estraneo – secondo una lettura psicanalitica – una dimensione potentemente sessuale della fiamma primitiva, in virtù di quel calore che non è solo degli elementi ma coinvolge i corpi, la stessa comunità.[23]

Inoltre il possesso del fuoco è tappa fondamentale nel cammino del primitivo verso la civiltà, in quanto l'uomo attraverso la fiamma possiede la nozione di sé come soggetto, si distingue – pur calato in un contesto naturale – dalla realtà circostante, iscrive le proprie sensazioni nelle categorie di spazio e tempo perché egli è divenuto misura cosciente nella percezione di quella stessa realtà. Senza dubbio al fuoco rituale è poi connessa una dimensione animistica, è ciò ne rende ancora più straordinaria l'eventuale "reviviscenza" (per dirla con Raffaele Corso) dell'usanza in epoche recenti. Aspetto ancora più rilevante è che alla personificazione del fuoco, sancita dall'intera comunità, sia connessa se non l'origine almeno il mantenimento della realtà sociale.

Questa percezione può risultare difficilmente comprensibile per la mentalità dell'uomo contemporaneo, anche perché non solo la forza della rappresentazione simbolica ma il senso stesso del simbolo è stato emarginato da un razionalismo dominante, più legato a una rappresentazione concettuale della religione stessa. Perciò il riemergere prepotente – anche tra le pieghe di forzate rittualizzazioni folkloristiche del rito – della funzione simbolica non deve sorprendere, in quanto tale funzione non è solo capacità dell'uomo di "oltrepassare l'apparenza materiale delle cose riempiendola di un significato particolare", ma frutto del bisogno dell'individuo di elaborare, attraverso un linguaggio mediatore, quei rapporti che lo collegano a una comunità civile, sociale e religiosa.[24]

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[21] V. Lanternari, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[22] G. Van den Leeuw, *Fenomenologia della religione*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1975, p. 40.

[23] Il fuoco come matrice di immagini, intima e universale, è analizzato da G. Bachelard nel noto saggio *La psycanalyse du feu* (Paris, Plon, 1937). Si veda del pensatore francese *L'intuizione dell'istante. La psicoanalisi del fuoco*, Bari, Dedalo, 1973, pp. 156-162.

[24] M. Meslin, *L'esperienza umana del divino. Fondamenti di un'antropologia religiosa*, Roma, Borla, 1981, p. 189.

Il fuoco e le sue ceneri, la rugiada benefica della notte, sono ierofanie in cui il fedele percepisce la presenza del mistero, all'interno di un armonico equilibrio fra natura e cultura nella vita quotidiana, dove la credenza nell'immanenza del divino non è disgiunta dalla realtà umana. Questo perché i simboli rituali e la loro forma materiale appartengono a una natura abituale e consueta per l'uomo arcaico.[25]

Si è già detto come l'evento magico fosse destinato ad aiutare il singolo e la comunità a superare il momento critico di passaggio stagionale, così come la conseguente crisi psicologica che gli è intimamente connessa. Dunque, come osserva Tullio-Altan:

> *Tutti questi momenti sono potenzialmente pericolosi e le cerimonie relative tendono a rappresentarli nella forma di psicodrammi, che hanno lo scopo di scaricare le tensioni che possono produrre, e di porre sotto il controllo di un preciso rituale culturalmente elaborato le emozioni che possono esplodere in queste circostanze. [...] Tutto questo insieme di bisogni e di risposte sociali e culturali riguarda il soddisfacimento del fondamentale bisogno di sicurezza degli uomini. [...] Il sistema sociale e le sue istituzioni in quanto tali, è la risposta globale che gli uomini hanno dato nei più diversi tempi e luoghi ad un tale bisogno fondamentale.*[26]

Non poteva opporsi a questo processo la religiosità stessa del gruppo minoritario, schiettamente popolare in molti del suoi aspetti, con frequenti risvolti magici, saldamente ancorata sì ad un remoto sostrato precristiano, ma allo stesso tempo sottoposta a un progressivo, sebbene difficoltoso, adattamento istituzionale alla nuova fede (presso le minoranze germanofone non mancarono in tal senso problemi anche di natura linguistica), attraverso un'opera di speciale apostolato attuata sistematicamente a partire dal Cinquecento dalla Chiesa veneta, spesso poco tollerante verso le espressioni più schiette e radicate della religiosità.

San Giovanni Battista, che nella memoria devozionale del popolo battezza con l'acqua del Giordano il Cristo, nel cristianesimo primitivo era divenuto il santo più adatto ad incarnare l'antichissimo rito solstiziale di morte-rinascita (dove però la gioia della vita preesiste alla drammatizzazione). Egli rappresentò infatti uno speciale mediatore tra due universi religiosi (e perciò tra due sistemi sociali), così come lo fu il suo omonimo Evangelista, celebrato nella libagione comunitaria del 27 dicembre, tuttora in uso in area germanica e dagli esoterici risvolti magico-rituali.[27] Come si evince dalle relazioni delle visite pastorali, frequenti furono in età

[25] *Ibidem*, pp. 265-266.

[26] C. Tullio-Altan, *Antropologia. Storia e problemi*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1996, p. 218.

[27] Si veda a proposito il capitolo "Der Kelch und die Schlange", nella sopraccitata edizione austriaca del mio *Il calice di san Giovanni* (pp. 38-40), nonché il mio recente articolo: *Sul simbolo del serpente nell'iconografia di San Giovanni evangelista*, "Cimbri-Tzimbar", 35, 2006, pp. 97-106.

moderna le opposizioni alla consuetudine calendariale, sospettata negli anni successivi alla Riforma di incoraggiare pericolose eterodossie.[28]

La festa di San Giovanni quindi non incarnò solo il solenne e allo stesso tempo drammatico passaggio da una stagione all'altra, ma progressivamente e in un'ottica diacronica accompagnò la presa di coscienza di una nuova identità da parte della comunità, divenne quasi il metro di misura di una società sì conservativa ma in costante evoluzione, sottoposta all'influsso di modelli esterni,

[28] Sull'argomento si veda C. Corrain – P. Zampini, *Documenti etnografici e folkloristici nei sinodi diocesani italiani*, Bologna, Forni, 1970. Eppure il dotto benedettino francese dom Prosper Guéranger (1805-1875), abate di Solesmes, nella sua celebre opera *L'année liturgique* (1841-) volle evidenziare il fecondo intreccio fra rito religioso e pratiche solstiziali legate alla memoria di san Giovanni Battista: "La letizia, che è il carattere specifico di questa festa, dilagava anche fuori dei luoghi santi [...]. Se a Natale il rigore della stagione confinava accanto al focolare domestico le commoventi manifestazioni della pietà privata, lo splendore delle notti della solennità estiva porgeva alla viva fede dei popoli l'occasione di rifarsi. [...] Appena si spegnevano gli ultimi raggi del sole, dal lontano Oriente fino all'estremo Occidente, sull'intera superficie del mondo, immensi falò si levavano dalle montagne, e salivano d'un tratto da tutte le città, in ogni borgata, nei più piccoli villaggi. Erano i fuochi di san Giovanni: testimonianza autentica, e continuamente rinnovata, nella verità delle parole dell'angelo e della profezia la quale annunciava quella gioia universale che doveva salutare la nascita del figlio di Elisabetta. Come una *lampada ardente e risplendente*, secondo l'espressione del Signore, egli era apparso nella notte senza fine. [...] Si potrebbe quasi dire dei fuochi di san Giovanni che risalgono all'origine stessa del cristianesimo. Per lo meno, appaiono fin dai primi tempi della pace, come un frutto dell'iniziativa popolare, non senza stimolare talvolta la sollecitudine dei Padri e dei concili, pronti ad allontanare qualunque idea superstiziosa di manifestazioni che volessero sostituire, del resto così felicemente, le feste pagane dei solstizi. Ma la necessità di combattere alcuni abusi, possibili oggi come allora, non impedì alla Chiesa di incoraggiare un genere di manifestazioni che rispondeva così bene al carattere della festa. I fuochi di san Giovanni completavano felicemente la solennità liturgica; mostrando unite in uno stesso pensiero la Chiesa e la città terrena. Infatti, l'organizzazione di questi festeggiamenti spettava ai comuni, e i municipi ne sopportavano tutte le spese. Così, il privilegio di accendere i fuochi era riservato di solito alle personalità eminenti nel campo civile. Gli stessi re, prendendo parte alla gioia di tutti, si facevano un onore di dare questo segnale di allegria ai loro popoli; Luigi XIV, nel 1648, mise ancora il fuoco alla pira della piazza di Grève, come avevano fatto i suoi predecessori. D'altronde, come si usa sempre in parecchi luoghi della cattolica Bretagna, il clero, invitato a benedire le cataste di legna, vi gettava poi la prima torcia, mentre la folla, recando altre torce accese, si spargeva nelle campagne intorno alle messi in maturazione, oppure seguiva sulle rive del mare le sinuosità della costa, con grida di gioia a cui rispondevano i fuochi accesi nelle vicine isole". Trattando dell'usanza giovannea della "*Girandola*" infuocata, l'abate di Solesmes così prosegue: "In alcuni luoghi, *la girandola*, disco infuocato che girava su se stesso e percorreva le strade della città o scendeva dalla cima dei monti, rappresentava il moto del sole che raggiunge il punto più alto della sua corsa per ridiscenderne subito; richiamava così le parole del Precursore riguardo al Messia: *Bisogna che egli cresca e che io diminuisca* (Gv 3,30). Il simbolismo era completato dall'usanza che si aveva di bruciare le ossa e gli avanzi di ogni specie, in quel giorno che annunciava la fine della legge antica e l'inizio dei tempi nuovi, secondo il detto della Scrittura: *Rigetterete ciò che è vecchio all'arrivo dei nuovi beni* (Lev 26,10). Beate le popolazioni che conservano ancora qualcosa delle usanze a cui la semplicità dei nostri padri attingeva una letizia più vera e più pura certamente di quelle chieste dai loro successori a certe feste in cui l'anima non prende più parte" (da P. Guéranger, *L'anno liturgico - II. Tempo Pasquale e dopo la Pentecoste*, trad. it. L. Roberti, P. Graziani e P. Suffia, Alba, Edizioni Paoline 1959: XXIV Giugno, *Natività di san Giovanni Battista*).

interagente essa stessa con l'esterno nel processo di modernizzazione. Se il senso del sacro non era sostanzialmente mutato – e sappiamo, nonostante la secolarizzazione post-moderna, quanto esso resista e sappia rinnovarsi –, l'appartenenza religiosa lo fu. Il cambiamento delle condizioni economiche e sociali fecero il resto, nel solco di dinamiche da sempre in corso.

Un'ultima considerazione. La consapevolezza dell'incidenza dei fenomeni storici cui abbiamo accennato impedisce che lo studio del mondo tradizionale si riduca a mero descrittivismo delle espressioni della cosiddetta mentalità primitiva, colte magari in una chiave astoricizzata. Ci piace ricordare in questa sede la lezione di un compianto maestro negli studi demo-etno-antropologici, Giovanni Battista Bronzini, che riteneva la descrizione studiata e documentata delle manifestazioni della cultura popolare una "scienza nel senso pieno del concetto, allo stesso titolo dell'analisi dei testi e della critica dei documenti".[29]

Tutto ciò concorre a ribadire ancora una volta l'importanza del folklore in relazione alle altre discipline – come la storiografia, per esempio – da cui la giustezza della definizione di "scienza ancillare", attribuitagli da Paolo Toschi, confortata dal fatto che fosse "il lavoro alacre ed esperto delle ancelle che fa andar bene la casa, anche la grande casa delle scienze".[30]

[29] G. B. Bronzini, *Cultura popolare. Dialettica e contestualità*, Bari, Dedalo, 1980, pp. 9.

[30] P. Toschi, *Tradizioni popolari italiane*, Torino, Eri, 1967, p. 11. Per il contesto storico-demologico veronese ci permettiamo di rinviare alle riflessioni contenute in A. Castaldini, *Demologia e storiografia locale: il caso veronese*, "Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona", vol. CLXXI, 1994-1995, pp. 145-158.

PROFANE BRÄUCHE UND LIEDER DER WEIHNACHTSZEIT BEI DEN ROMANISCHEN VÖLKERN[1]

ION TALOŞ

SKIZZE DER WINTERFEIERTAGE IM RÖMISCHEN KAISERREICH

Es ist bekannt, daß viele Sitten und Bräuche der Weihnachtszeit auf die Kalenderfeste der Römer zurückgehen. Im Byzantinischen Reich[2] begannen die Winterfeiertage schon am 24. November mit den Brumalia, die bis zum 17. Dezember dauerten. Die Zahl dieser Feiertage war identisch mit der Zahl der Buchstaben im griechischen Alphabet, und jeder feierte am Tage des Buchstabens, mit dem sein Name begann.

Am 17. Dezember fingen die Saturnalia an, die bis zum 23. Dezember dauerten. Sie waren Saturnus, dem Gott der Saatfelder, gewidmet. Es war eine Woche, die sich durch besondere Freiheiten, Gelage, ja sogar Orgien sowie durch gegenseitiges Besuchen und Beschenken charakterisieren läßt. In dieser Woche versuchten die Menschen jährlich, das goldene Zeitalter Saturnus ins Leben zu rufen. Die Klassenunterschiede wurden für diese Zeit aufgehoben, die Sklaven durften über ihre Herren frei spotten, sie durften am selben Tisch mit diesen essen und wurden sogar von ihnen bedient. Eine Woche lang war es wie eine verkehrte Welt, in der die Armen herrschten. Der gewählte König der Saturnalia verfügte über unbegrenzte Freiheiten, nach den Feiertagen wurde er jedoch getötet.

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[1] Die vorliegende Arbeit ist die Weiterentwicklung einiger vom Autor in der letzten Zeit gehaltener Vorträge, wie *Vergleich der rumänischen Colinde mit dem andalusischen Weihnachtsslied*, gehalten zum Symposium *Elfte Tagung der Study Group of Analysis and Systematisation of Folk Music*, in Santiago de Compostela (17.-22. September 1990), und *The Importance of Romanian Folklore in Europe*, zum Symposium *Romania in the European Context*, veranstaltet von der *Fundaţia Culturală Română (Rumänische Kulturstiftung)*, der Universität Wien und der Creditanstalt (Wien, 7.-8. Mai 1998). Vgl. auch Ion Taloş, *Câteva consideraţii asupra colindatului şi colindelor la popoarele romanice* [Einige Betrachtungen über das Ansingen und Ansingelieder bei den romanischen Völkern]. In: Limbă şi literatură XLIV (1999), I, 71-91.

[2] Wir übernehmen die von Caraman festgelegte Chronologie der römischen Feiertage (Petru Caraman, *Colindatul la români, slavi şi la alte popoare. Studiu de folclor comparat* [Das Ansingen von Weihnachtsliedern bei den Romänen, Slaven und bei anderen Völkern. Vergleichende Folklore-Studie]. Bucureşti 1983, 335-352).

REF/JEF, *1*, p. 41–77, Bucureşti, 2007

Eine Woche später feierten die Römer die Janus gewidmeten Calendae Januariae. Bei der Gelegenheit wurden die Türen der Häuser mit Palmzweigen geschmückt, die Untertanen besuchten ihre Vorgesetzten, sie beschenkten sie und wurden von diesen beschenkt. Außerdem wurden gegenseitig gute Wünsche für das neue Jahr ausgesprochen. Alles, was an diesem Tag geschah, betrachtete man als Omen, wie übrigens auch die ersten 12 Tage des Monats Januar: jeder Tag galt als Omen für einen der folgenden Monate des Jahres.

Zu diesem Zyklus gehörten zwei weitere Feiertage, und zwar Compitalia und Larentalia, die den toten Seelen gewidmet waren.

Zu Beginn der christlichen Ära haben die aus dem Nahen Osten rückkehrenden Legionäre einen exotischen Feiertag, nämlich den des orientalischen Sonnengottes Mithras, *Dies Natalis Solis Invicti*, in diesen Zyklus eingeführt, und zwar am 25. Dezember. Dieser Feiertag gewann in kürzester Zeit so stark an Bedeutung, daß er unter Aurelian (Ende des III. Jh.) als zur Staatsreligion des Römischen Reiches gehörend erklärt wurde.

Saturnalia, Calendae Januariae, Compitalia, Larentalia und *Dies Natalis Solis Invicti* wurden von den christlichen Feiertagen *Weihnachten* und *Neujahr* überlagert und gleichzeitig wurde ein neuer Feiertag, der *Dreikönigstag,* hinzugefügt. Allerdings feierte man Weihnachten ursprünglich am 6. Januar[3], dem Tag, an dem Adam erschaffen wurde. Mit anderen Worten: man feierte an demselben Tag die Geburt und die Taufe Christi. Später, im IV. Jh., wurde die materielle von der geistigen Geburt getrennt, d.h. die Geburt wurde auf den 25. Dezember vorverlegt und gleichzeitig mit dem *Dies Natalis Solis Invicti* gefeiert, während die Taufe weiterhin am 6. Januar gefeiert wurde. Die Vorverlegung der Geburt Christi fand ursprünglich in Rom (im Jahr 354), dann in Konstantinopel (375) und später in immer mehr Regionen und Ortschaften statt. Am 25. Dezember feierte die römische Kirche ebenfalls den Anfang des Kirchenjahres (*annus ecclesiasticus*), was zu einer Anhäufung von Sitten und Bräuchen unterschiedlichen Ursprungs führte.

P. Caraman versuchte, die zum Weihnachtsfest üblichen Riten und Bräuche nach ihrem Ursprung zu differenzieren. Er fand Spuren der *Saturnalia* (Gelage, Schweineschlachten, Abschaffung der Klassenunterschiede), der *Calendae Januariae* (das Singen von Liedern in fremden Häusern und die Beglückwünschung, der Omengedanke, verschiedene Zauber) sowie des Sonnenkults *Dies Natalis Solis Invicti* (Weihnachtsblock, das Feuerrad/Wepelrot oder die Weihnachtskringel). Darüber hinaus listet Caraman andere Sitten und Bräuche auf, die die Geburt Christi mit den antiken Feiertagen Compitalia und Larentalia verbindet. Die Tatsache, daß bei einigen Völkern zum Neujahr auch der Umzug

[3] Philippe Walter (*Mythologie chrétienne. Rites et mythes du Moyen Age.* Paris, 1992, 87) zeigt, daß in verschiedenen Epochen und bei unterschiedlichen Religionen, Weihnachten nicht nur am 6. Januar, sondern auch am 25. März, am 10. April oder am 29. Mai gefeiert wurde.

mit dem Pflug stattfindet, berechtigt Caramans Annahme, daß das Singen von Weihnachtsliedern auch Frühjahrsbräuche enthält. Allerdings fand bei den Römern der Anfang des Jahres ursprünglich nicht zu den Calendae Januariae, sondern zu Beginn des Monats März (MENSIS MARTIUS)[4], also in der agrarischen Jahreszeit statt[5]. Erst im II. vorchristlichen Jh. wurde der Anfang des Jahres auf den 1. Januar gesetzt. So erklärt sich auch die große Zahl von agrarischen Motiven in den Weihnachtsliedern der Rumänen, Bulgaren und Ukrainer.

Prototypus der Weihnachtslieder – schreibt Caraman[6] – ist ein römisches kurzes Lied, in dem Glückwünsche für das neue Jahr (Gesundheit der Menschen, der Tiere und Felder sowie Überfluß) zum Ausdruck gebracht wurden. Dieser Typus von Liedern ist gegenwärtig im Repertoire der Kinder wiederzufinden. Bei den Rumänen, Bulgaren und Ukrainer entwickelte sich – so schreibt Caraman weiter – diese Gattung der oralen Kultur anders als in der Westromania und wurde zu einer der bedeutendsten Gattungen der mündlichen Literatur.

Die erwähnte Monographie von Petru Caraman bezieht sich hauptsächlich auf die Weihnachtslieder der Rumänen, Bulgaren und Ukrainern, teilweise auch auf diejenigen der anderen Slawen und sogar der Griechen und Albaner. Wir richten unseren Blick nach Westen und fragen uns: was geschieht in der Weihnachtszeit bei den Italienern, Franzosen, Katalanen, Spaniern und Portugiesen, ob auch dort der von den Rumänen *Colindat*[7] bezeichnete Brauch üblich ist und inwiefern von einem und demselben Brauch die Rede sein kann. Dafür müssen wir das Phänomen Winterfeiertage gleichzeitig in der Ost- und Westromania untersuchen. Wir beginnen mit dem romanischen Land, in dem das Phänomen eine außerordentliche Blüte erlebt hat.

RUMÄNIEN WEIHNACHTEN – CRĂCIUNUL

Viele europäische Zeitgenossen betrachten Weihnachten als ein Familienfest[8]. Bei den Rumänen hingegen, vor allem im bäuerlichen Milieu, haben die Feste des Weihnachtszyklus einen öffentlichen Charakter. Die Vorbereitungen dieser Feste erstrecken sich über die ganze Fastenzeit (Adventszeit) und an den Festen nimmt die gesamte Dorfgemeinschaft teil.

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[4] Caraman (s. Anm. 2), 356-357.

[5] Philippe Walter (*Mythologie chrétienne. Rites et mythes du Moyen Age*. Paris, 1992, 108) stellt Beziehungen zwischen den Mairiten und dem Weihnachtsfest („le mai de Noël") her.

[6] Caraman, (s. Anm. 2) 358-361.

[7] Weihnachts- oder Neujahrslied heißt im Rumänischen *colind* (regional: *colindă* bzw. *corindă*). Die Handlung „Von Haus zu Haus ziehen und Weihnachts-, bzw. Neujahrslieder singen" nennt man *colindat.*

[8] Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Das Weihnachtsfest. Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Weihnachtszeit.* Luzern und Frankfurt/Main, 1978, 181-182.

Es liegt eine umfangreiche Fachliteratur über die Bräuche und Lieder der Rumänen in der Weihnachtszeit vor[9]. Zu Weihnachten, zum Neuen Jahr und zum Dreikönigstag ziehen mehrere insbesondere aus männlicher Jugend bestehende Gruppen von Haus zu Haus und singen profane wie religiöse Lieder, die ausschließlich für diese Anlässe bestimmt sind, ihr Gebrauch außerhalb der genannten Zeit bringt die Ernte der Gemeinschaft in Gefahr. Diese Lieder werden *Colinde* (Lat. CALENDAE) genannt. Sie unterscheiden sich von dem, was man allgemein unter Weihnachtslied versteht, dadurch, daß ein Großteil von ihnen mit der Geburt Christi nichts außer dem Anlaß gemeinsam hat. Das Umherziehen und Singen von *Colinden* heißt *Colindat* und die Akteure *Colindători*. Die internationale Fachterminologie übernimmt diese Termini, die im Rumänischen in slawischen Sprachen gebraucht werden.

Die Dorfjugend organisiert sich zum Zweck des *Colindats* nach dem Kriterium Alter und Geschlecht in kleinere oder größere Gruppen wie folgt.

1. Schon am Abend des 24. Dezember besuchen Kleinkinder (3-4 bis 8-9 Jahre alt) Nachbarschaft und Verwandte in Begleitung des Vaters oder Großvaters. Sie singen bzw. tragen ein kurzes Gedicht vor, in dem sie Glück (Gesundheit und Wohlstand) wünschen und um Geschenke bitten. Die Gastgeber belohnen sie gerne mit Weihnachtskringeln, und Obst, manchmal auch Geld.

2. Um Mitternacht ziehen Knaben im Schulalter (8-9 bis 14-15 Jahre)[10] in kleinen Gruppen umher. An der Spitze einer Holzstange tragen sie einen schön geschmückten und mit Glöckchen versehenen Stern und gehen von Haus zu Haus durch das ganze Dorf. Sie werden *stelari* (Sternsinger) genannt. Sie bringen die frohe Botschaft der Geburt Christi. Die von ihnen vorgetragenen Weihnachtslieder behandeln eine fast ausschließlich religiöse Thematik (die Verkündigung und die Geburt Christi sowie sein Leben und seinen Tod). Nach ihren Liedern sprechen die Sternsinger Glückwünsche aus und verlangen Geschenke (Naturalien oder Geld).

3. Die männliche Jugend im Alter zwischen 14-15 und 21-22 Jahren bildet mehrere aus bis zu 10 Burschen bestehende Männergruppen. Eine Männergruppe wird von einem von den Teilnehmern gewählten Anführer (rum. *Vătaf*) geleitet, der für die Verhaltensweise der Burschen verantwortlich ist. Die Männergruppe verfügt weiter über einen Kassierer, der die Geldgeschenke sammelt, und wird von einem älteren Mann begleitet, der *iapă* – Stute - genannt wird, der die Geschenke in Naturalien (Brot, Wurst, Schweinefleisch, Wein und Schnaps) trägt. Oft wird die Männergruppe auch von Musikanten begleitet. Regional tragen die Burschen eine

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[9] Wir geben an dieser Stelle neben den bereits zitierten Werken von Caraman, nur einige Titel an: Tudor Pamfile, *Crăciunul. Studiu etnografic* [Weihnachten. Ethnographische Studie], Bucureşti/ Leipzig/Wien, 1914; Traian Herseni, *Forme străvechi de cultură populară românească. Studiu de paleoetnografie a cetelor de feciori din Ţara Oltului* [Uralte Formen der rumänische Volkskultur. Paleoethnographische Studie der Männerbünde im Olt-Land]. Cluj-Napoca 1977; Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Folclorul românesc* [Rumänische Folklore]. I. Bucureşti, 1981, 267-349.

[10] Mädchengruppen dieser Art werden nur selten belegt.

Trommel oder einen *buhai* mit. Letzteres Instrument „besteht aus einem Holzgefäß, dessen Boden durch ein Stück Leder ersetzt ist. Indem man durch ein Loch in letzterem ein Büschel Roßhaare hin- und herzieht, bringt man einen dumpfen Ton hervor“[11], der dem Gebrüll des Ochsen oder Stiers ähnlich ist.

Die Burschen beginnen das *Colindat* an der Kirche und setzen es am Haus des Dorfpriesters und des Bürgermeisters fort. Die restlichen Häuser des Dorfes besuchen sie von Mitternacht an bis zur Morgendämmerung, indem sie vom oberen zum unteren Teil des Ortes ziehen. Es gehört zu den elementarsten Verpflichtungen der *Colindători*, vor jedem Haus zu fragen, ob die Hausbesitzer möchten, daß ihr Haus von den Burschen betreten wird und diese für sie *Colinde* singen.

Wenn der Hausbesitzer zustimmt, dann singen die Männer ein Lied im Hof oder am Fenster, danach betreten sie das Haus und singen ein weiteres *Colind,* indem sie um den Tisch herum stehen. Nach den *Colinden* spielen die Musikanten eine kurze Tanzmelodie und die Burschen machen ein paar Tanzschritte mit jedem weiblichen Mitglied der Familie, auch sehr alten Frauen, kleinen Mädeln, ja sogar Babys. Durch diesen magischen Akt bewirken sie, daß die Frauen im nächsten Jahr gesund bleiben oder werden bzw. die Babys und Mädchen gedeihen.

Ehe sie das Haus verlassen, rezitiert einer der Burschen ein Gedicht, in dem gute Wünsche *(urări)* für die Familie im nächsten Jahr zum Ausdruck kommen (Gesundheit, Glück, Wohlstand). Oft enthalten diese Gedichte gleichzeitig die Bitte um Geschenke (ein Brot so groß wie das Rad des Pfluges, Wurst, Schinken, Schnaps etc.) sowie die Danksagung *(mulțumitură)* für die großzügigen Geschenke. Zum Abschied tragen die Burschen den Wunsch vor, daß man sich auch im nächsten Jahr gesund und glücklich wiedersieht. Nicht zu Unrecht nannte P. Caraman[12] die *Colindători* „Boten des Glücks“, denn, als hätten sie übernatürliche Kräfte, schaffen sie eine ideale Welt, eine Welt des allgemeinen Wohlstands und eine Gesellschaft ohne Konflikte

4. Die Verheirateten (Männer und Frauen) bilden eine weitere Gruppe, an der Alt und Jung, Männer und Frauen teilnehmen. Diese Gruppe singt lediglich bei Verwandten, Freunden oder Nachbarn, wobei sie über ein gemischtes (profanes und religiöses) Liedrepertoire verfügt.

UMKEHRUNG DER WÜNSCHE IN IHR GEGENTEIL – *DESCOLINDATUL*

Wenn die Burschen ein Haus meiden gilt dies als unmoralisch und als schlechtes Zeichen für die betroffene Familie im nächsten Jahr. Wenn aber ein

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[11] H. Tiktin, *Rumänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch.* 3., überarbeitete und ergänzte Auflage von Paul Miron und Elsa Lüder. Band I A-C. Cluj-Napoca 2000, 332, s.v. buhái; siehe auch Tiberiu Alexandru, *Instrumentele muzicale ale poporului român* [Musikalische Instrumente der rumänischen Volks]. Bucureşti, 1956, 36-37.

[12] Petru Caraman, *Descolindatul în orientul şi sud-estul Europei. Studiu de folclor comparat.* Ediție îngrijită şi postfață de Ion H. Ciubotaru [Die Umkehrung der Wünsche in ihr Gegenteil in Weihnachtslieder Ost und Süd-Ost Europas. Besorgt u. mit Nachwort versehen von...]. Iaşi, 1997, 17.

Hausbesitzer die jungen Männer nicht empfangen will oder sie nicht entsprechend belohnt, bestrafen ihn diese mit einem negativen „Weihnachtslied", eine Handlung, die *Descolindat* heißt. Mit anderen Worten, die Burschen sprechen einen negativen Wunsch, eine Drohung, ja sogar einen Fluch aus. So hören die Hausbewohner z. B. den Wunsch, von so vielen Mäusen und Läusen überfallen zu werden, wie es Strohhalme auf der Scheune gibt; oder noch schlimmer: daß alle Mitglieder der Familie binnen eines Jahres sterben. Manchmal rächen sich die *Colindători,* indem sie dem Hausbesitzer Schaden zufügen (sie stehlen oder zerstören das Tor des Hofes, den Zaun, den Bauernwagen, den Schlitten oder den Pflug; sie beschmieren die Hauswände, das Haustor oder die Fenster mit Pech; sie täuschen einen Brand im Hof vor usw.)[13]. Interessanter Weise werden die Burschen für solche Handlungen von der Dorfgemeinschaft nicht verurteilt. Im Gegenteil, verurteilt wird der Hausbesitzer, der die gewissermaßen sakrale Tradition mit den Füßen getreten hat.

DAS NEUJAHR – ANUL NOU

Der Neujahrstag wird bei den Rumänen „kleine Weihnachten" *(Crăciunul mic)* genannt. Diese Bezeichnung zeigt, daß für die Dorfbevölkerung das Neujahr weniger wichtig als Weihnachten ist. Zwar kann man Colinde bis zum Dreikönigstag hören, doch werden Neujahr und Dreikönigstag nicht so intensiv gefeiert wie Weihnachten. Diesmal haben andere Riten und Bräuche den Vortritt.

1. Kleinkinder (unter 10 Jahre) besuchen (wie zu Weihnachten) Nach-barschaft und Verwandte, indem sie gute Wünsche (Gesundheit und Glück) aussprechen; regional, in Südrumänien, gehen die Kinder mit *Sorcova um*, d.h. mit einem grünen, Knospen treibenden Zweig eines Obstbaums, insbesondere eines Apfelbaums, mit dem sie die Menschen berühren und ihnen Gesundheit und Wohlstand im Neuen Jahr wünschen. Dafür werden die Kinder wie bei Weihnachten mit Weihnachtskringeln, mit getrocknetem Obst sowie mit Süßigkeiten belohnt.

2. Am 1. Januar ziehen junge Männer mit dem *Pflug* durch das Dorf. Es geht um einen normalen Pflug, der von einem geschmückten Ochsengespann oder von als Ochsen maskierten jungen Männern gezogen wird, während der Anführer in einem Gedicht die Geschichte des Brotes, angefangen beim Säen bis zum Ernten, Mahlen und Backen darstellt. Ortsweise ziehen auch Kinder von 10-12 Jahren mit einem Miniaturpflug. Beide Gruppen haben eine Peitsche, mit der sie oft sehr laut knallen. Belohnt werden beide wie die *Colindători* zu Weihnachten, mit Brot oder Kringeln, mit Wurst, Fleisch, Obst oder Geld[14].

3. Ein sehr ähnlicher Brauch ist *Semănatul* (das Säen): Kinder oder Erwachsene ziehen von Haus zu Haus und säen Weizen-, Mais- oder Reiskorn und wünschen Wohlstand im Neuen Jahr[15].

[13] Caraman (s. Anm. 12) 17-266.
[14] Bîrlea (s. Anm. 9) 382-387.
[15] Bîrlea (s. Anm. 9) 387-388.

4. *Vasilca* (vom Namen des Heiligen Basilius, rum. *Vasile* abgeleitet) ist eine weitere Art des *Colindats*, die ausschließlich im Süden des Landes und nur von Rroma ausgeübt wird. Diese tragen ein Tablett mit einem geschmücktem Schweinekopf und singen *Colinde*, die die Geschichte des Schweins darstellen. Vor Gott, der Mutter Gottes, dem Heiligen Johannes als Richter wird der Werdegang des Schweins in ironischen Bildern erzählt: es wuchs im Wald auf und wurde von Rumänen mit Äxten und von Rroma mit Schmiedehämmern und Geigen gejagt; das beste Fleisch kam den Bojaren, der Speck den Rumänen zugute, während für die Rroma lediglich der Kopf übrig blieb[16].

5. Männer pflegen auch das *Colindat* mit lebendigen Tieren oder Masken von Tieren (*Hirsch, Bär, Ziege* sowie die mythischen *Turca* oder *Brezaia*) auszuüben, d.h. am Neujahrstag gehen sie von Haus zu Haus und „spielen" die genannten Tiere. Es handelt sich um ein uraltes Fruchtbarkeitsritual währenddessen der Protagonist komische und erotische Bewegungen macht und einen überdimensionierten Phallus aus Holz unter seiner Schürze trägt[17].

6. In einzelnen Regionen des Nordens und Westens des Landes sind auch geistliche Volksschauspiele belegt worden. Es geht insbesondere um das *Herodesspiel*, um *Maria am Grab* und um das *Paradiesspiel*[18].

7. Ansonsten ist die Neujahrsnacht eine mythische Zeit: das Neue Jahr „kommt", während das Alte als Ochsen- oder Pferdekopf „beerdigt" wird; es ist die Nacht, in der sich die Himmel öffnen und die Haustiere miteinander über das Schicksal ihres Herrn im neuen Jahr reden; die Mädchen versuchen, in Erfahrung zu bringen, ob und von wem sie geheiratet werden; die in der Erde versteckten Schätze werfen Flammen aus und können so gefunden werden etc. etc.

DIE FEIER DER JUGEND – „BEREA" ODER „BUTOIUL"

Mit den in der Weihnachtszeit gesammelten Geschenken organisiert die Burschengruppe eine Feier der Jugend, „das Faß" (*Butoiul*) oder „das Trinken" (*Berea*) genannt, zu der in vielen Ortschaften die gesamte Dorfgemeinschaft – regional auch die Jugend der benachbarten Dörfer - eingeladen wird. Junge und Alte, vor allem aber Mädchen und ihre Eltern nehmen daran teil und bringen Gerichte zum Verzehr. Diese Feier der Jugend, wo viel gegessen, getrunken und getanzt wird, betont einmal mehr den gesellschaftlichen Charakter aller Feiertage des Weihnachtszyklus.

DREIKÖNIGSTAG – BOBOTEAZA

Unter den am Dreikönigstag üblichen Riten und Bräuchen sind diejenigen bemerkenswert, die die Reinigung des Kosmos zum Ziel haben: die Hausbewohner,

[16] Bîrlea (s. Anm. 9) 388-390.

[17] Bîrlea (s. Anm. 9) 271-276.

[18] Ion Muşlea, *Cercetări etnografice şi de folclor* [Ethnographische und folkloristische Untersuchungen]. II. Bucureşti, 1972, 315-346.

der Hof, die Tiere und Felder werden von Priestern, aber auch von *Colindători* mit geheiligtem Wasser bespritzt; die Letzteren ziehen von Haus zu Haus, bespritzen und heben alle Personen hoch, damit es ihnen im schon begonnenen Jahr noch besser geht; ähnlich benetzen sich gegenseitig alle Mitglieder der Familie am Brunnen mit einem Eimer Wasser; auch die Gräber der nicht getauft verstorbenen Kinder werden benetzt und diese auf den Namen *Ioan* „getauft"; spektakulär ist das Ins-Wasser-Werfen des Kreuzes, das von Männern aus dem eiskaltem Wasser des Flusses oder Sees herausgeholt wird; eindrucksvoll ist auch das Pferderennen, das an diesem Tag stattfindet.

PROFANE UND RELIGIÖSE LIEDER DER WEIHNA CHTSZEIT – *COLINDE*

Die bei den Rumänen *Colinde* genannten Lieder heißen auf Bulgarisch *kóleda* und auf Ukrainisch *koliada*. Wie schon gezeigt, stammt der Terminus, der Lied und Brauch bezeichnet, aus dem lateinischen *calendae*, was soviel wie *Anfang* bedeutet. Es handelt sich um den Beginn des Kirchenjahres und gewissermaßen auch des neuen Jahres. In anderen romanischen Sprachen sind Termini bekannt, die auf dasselbe lateinische Etymon *calendae* zurückgehen, ihre Bedeutung ist jedoch unterschiedlich[19].

Das umfangreichste Repertoire von *Colinden* besitzt die Burschengruppe. Dies enthält fast ausschließlich profane Texte, während die anderen Kategorien von *Colindători* meistens religiöse Texte vortragen.

Das Repertoire der rumänischen *Colinde* läßt sich in etwa 400 Typen und Untertypen klassifizieren, die jeweils zur Hälfte profane und religiöse Themen behandeln. Die religiösen *Colinde* übernehmen Themen aus dem Neuen Testament (Verkündigung, Geburt, Verfolgung sowie Taten und Leiden Christi) und dürfen in jedem Haus gesungen werden. Die profanen *Colinde* werden Geschlecht und Alter sowie dem Beruf des Hausbesitzers angepaßt, d.h. im Hause, in dem ein junger Mann lebt, werden Texte über die Tapferkeit eines Burschen, während in dem, wo ein Mädchen lebt, Colinde über die Schönheit der jungen Frau gesungen werden. Mit einem Text über das Glück in der Familie machen die *Colindători* einem

[19] In der Provence: *calendo*, im Lyonnais und Dauphiné: *chalendes*, in Nizza: *chalenos*; in einigen Regionen Italiens verwendet man die Termini: *calendre / scalendre* in Mantovano, *calendi / discalendi* in Val Rendena (Lombardei), *calendi / discalendi, crescendi / calendi* im Trentino, *calendis* in Friaul (Friuli), *calende* im Veneto. Diese Termini bezeichnen den Ritus der Zukunftsvorhersage, „les jours compteurs", was bei den Rumänen mit „calendarul de ceapă" (Zwiebelkalender) gleichzusetzten ist. Vgl. Arnold van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain*. VII. 1re partie. *Cycle des douze jours*. Paris 1958, 2863-2873; Françoise Lebrun, *Le Livre de Noël*. Paris 1995, 27; Paolo Toschi, *Invito al folklore italiano. Le regioni e le feste*. Roma 1963, 244; Giuliana Valentinis, *Tempo di Natale*. In: Paolo Gian Gri/Giuliana Valentinis (eds.), *I giorni del magico. Riti invernali e tradizioni natalizie ai confini orientali*. Gorizia 1985, 24-26; Arnold van Gennep, *Le Folklore des Hautes-Alpes*. I. Paris, 1946, 252-253.

jungen Ehepaar die Freude, während sie im Hause einer Witwe oder eines Witwers traurige Lieder singen. Texte über die Fruchtbarkeit der Felder und Tiere sind für Bauernhäuser bestimmt; passende Lieder werden im Hause des Priesters oder des Bürgermeisters, sowie des Schäfers, Fischers, Händlers oder des Soldaten aus dem Liedrepertoire ausgewählt. In Häusern, in denen jemand im Verlaufe des Jahres gestorben ist, werden Trauer-*Colinde* gesungen.

BALLADEN UND LYRISCHE LIEDER IM *COLINDE*-REPERTOIRE

Unter den profanen *Colinde* läßt sich eine Gruppe von Texten unterscheiden, die, besonders in Transsilvanien, in den Winterfeiertagen gesungen werden, in anderen Regionen gehören sie zum Balladenrepertoire oder zum lyrischen Volkslied. Die einzige bislang verfügbare Typologie der *Colinde*[20] weist auf 9 Balladen und 15 lyrische Volkslieder hin, die in der Weihnachtszeit gesungen werden. Hierher gehören u.a. die wichtigsten rumänischen Balladen: das Lämmchen („Miorița": geplante Tötung des jüngsten Schäfers), *Meister Manole* („Meşterul Manole": das Bauopfermotiv) *Sonne und Mond,* bzw. *Bruder und Schwester* („Soarele şi luna", bzw. „Fratele şi sora": der vom Bruder gewünschte, aber verhinderte Inzest mit der Schwester); *weitere Themen sind: das von Türken geraubte Mädchen („Ilincuța Șandrului"), die Liebesprobe* („Milea"), *die umschlungenen Bäume* („Arborii îmbrățișați"), *die tote Braut* („Mireasa moartă"), *die verkaufte Ehefrau* („Soția vândută"), *die Flucht der Ehefrau* („Soția fugită"), *die Rückkehr des Ehemannes am Tage der zweiten Hochzeit seiner Frau* („Moşneagul"), *die böse Schwiegermutter* („Soacra rea"), *die traurige Turteltaube* („Amărâtă turturea")[21]. Hinzu kommen die lyrischen Lieder, d.h. Texte mit doppelter Funktion, die mal als Lied, mal als *Colind* gesungen werden.

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Wie während der Saturnalien im Römischen Kaiserreich erleben die Menschen in der Weihnachtszeit die höchste Stufe des Glücks, und das soll als Omen für das ganze folgende Jahr gelten. Alle Riten, Rituale und Lieder spiegeln das Glück der Menschen darüber wieder, daß sie die Feiertage wieder glücklich feiern durften; wie die alten Römer beglückwünschen sie sich gegenseitig und sprechen sich den Wunsch aus, im Neuen Jahr gesund und wohlhabend zu sein. Die Weihnachtszeit ist die längste Periode des Jahres, in der die Menschen zuversichtlich in die Zukunft schauen.

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[20] Monica Brătulescu, *Colinda românească. The Romanian Colinda (Winter-Solstice Songs).* Bucureşti, 1981.

[21] Ion Taloş, *Balladen zu Weihnachten in Rumänien und Spanien.* In: Nicolae Constantinescu (Hrsg.), *Ballad and Ballad Studies at the Turn of the Century.* Bukarest, 2001, 229-233.

ITALIEN WEIHNACHTEN – *NATALE, QUESTUA DONI*

In der uns zugänglichen Literatur aus Italien finden wir eine relativ geringe Zahl von Dokumenten über das Weihnachtsansingen. Der Brauch heißt hier *questua doni. Questua* steht in italienischen Wörterbüchern an erster Stelle mit der Bedeutung *fare la questua = betteln.* Lediglich als Nebenbedeutung erscheint der von uns untersuchte Brauch. Die Folklore-Gattung heißt *canti* (oder: *canzoni*) *di questua* und die Ansänger werden *questuanti* genannt.

Bedeutende Werke der italienischen Folkloreforscher erwähnen nicht oder nur im Vorbeigehen die Lieder, die zu Weihnachten gesungen werden. Das kleine Handbuch der italienischen Folklore von G. D'Aronco erwähnt den Brauch lediglich als eine unter den vielen Formen des Volkstheaters: „i contrasti, i mariazzi, le zingaresche, *le benfanate*, le carnevalate, *le questue*" (unsere Unterstreichung)[22]. In seinem Buch über *Folklore. Storia – Obbietto – Metodo – Bibliografia*[23] erwähnt Raffaele Corso die *canti di questua* nicht einmal unter den Gattungen des italienischen Volkslieds. Die umfangreiche Sammlung von Volksliedern aus dem Piemont von Costantino Nigra[24] enthält keinerlei Texte, die hier von Bedeutung sein könnten, und in der ausführlichen Studie, die das Werk begleitet, schreibt Nigra kein Wort über die Gattung der Weihnachtslieder in der italienischen Volksliteratur. Unsere Hoffnung, in der von Paolo Toschi[25] verfaßten Monographie der religiösen Volksdichtung in Italien Informationen bezüglich des Weihnachtsansingens zu finden, erfüllte sich ebenfalls nicht. Das Buch enthält die übliche Thematik des religiösen Weihnachtsliedes, aber solange die Funktion als solche nicht angegeben wird, sind wir nicht berechtigt, die Texte unter diese Gattung einzuordnen. Die Monographie des Theologen Donatangelo Lupinetti über die Weihnachten in den Abruzzen enthält ausschließlich religiöse Texte (orazioni, orazionette, sermoncini, sacre rappresentazioni etc.)[26]. Auch Augusto Boullier, der sich intensiv mit religiösen Liedern in Sardinien beschäftigte, äußert sich über deren Funktion als Weihnachtslied nicht[27]. Über das Ansingen zu Weihnachten schreiben weder Giuliana Valentinis[28] in ihrer sehr reichhaltig dokumentierten Arbeit *Tempo di Natale*, noch Ranieri Mario Cossár in seiner Studie über die Dezemberfeste in Gorizia[29].

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[22] Gianfranco D'Aronco, *Manuale sommario di letteratura popolare italiana.* Seconda edizione. Bologna 1970, 140.

[23] Raffaele Corso, *Folklore. Storia - Obbietto - Metodo - Bibliografia.* Napoli, [4]1953.

[24] Costantino Nigra, *Canti popolari del Piemonte.* Torino, o. J.

[25] Paolo Toschi, *La poesia religiosa in Italia.* Firenze, 1935.

[26] Donatangelo Lupinetti: *La Sanda Natale. Canti e tradizioni abruzzesi del tempo natalizio.* Lanciano, 1963, 203-221, 269-280.

[27] *I canti popolari della Sardegna.* Traduzione italiana con note, introduzione e appendice di Raffa Garzia. Roma, 1974, 7-35.

[28] Giuliana Valentinis (s. Anm. 19) 19-62.

[29] *Feste decembrine a Gorizia.* In: Gian Paolo Gri/Giuliana Valentini (s. Anm. 19), 100-107.

In anderen Sammlungen erscheinen unter den religiösen Texten auch Lieder, bei denen bemerkt wird, daß sie *canti di questua* sind. So enthält die von Anna Pasetti veröffentlichte Sammlung aus Trentino ein kleines Kapitel mit *canti di questua*. Die Lieder werden in den „vigilie del Natale, del Capodanno e dell'Epifania" von drei Knaben, die mit einem Stern durch den Ort ziehen, gesungen; diese werden mit Wein, Nüsse, Äpfeln etc. belohnt. Pasetti zeigt weiter, daß dieser Brauch im Trentino schon im 17. Jh. belegt wurde. Sie bietet wertvolle bibliographische Hinweise über die Sammlungen an, die weitere Weihnachtslieder enthalten, woraus zu entnehmen ist, daß diese Gattung ebenfalls in Piemont, Lombardei, Venetien, Sizilien, Sardinien verbreitet ist[30]. In seiner Sammlung aus Lucca bringt Giovanni Giannini[31] sieben Texte, die speziell zu Weihnachten gesungen werden. Der Sammlung Giannini nach sind die italienischen Weihnachtslieder mit den Wiegen- *(Ninna-Nanna)* und Schäferliedern *(Pastorella)* verwandt. Aus Sardinien publiziert Giuseppe Ferraro mehrere religiöse Lieder, doch nur bei einigen finden wir den Vermerk, daß sie von „armen Knaben" in der Weihnachtsnacht an Häusern von reichen Leuten gesungen werden; zudem bringen sie gute Wünsche zum Ausdruck und verlangen dafür als Belohnung ein Brot in Form eines Hirtenstockes *(„in forma di bastone pastorale che si cuoce per l'occasione")*[32].

In seiner Arbeit *Invito al folklore italiano. Le regioni e le feste*[33] untersucht Paolo Toschi das Weihnachtsfest, hauptsächlich die Riten zur Voraussage der Zukunft (*il presagio delle calende)*, den „Holzklotz" (*il ceppo*)[34] und das sakrale Theater. Er erwähnt die *„sonate e cantate natalizie"*, die in Palermo vor längerer Zeit üblich waren. Die Mädchen rezitieren Wiegenlieder (*ninne-nanne natalizie*) und Gebete (*sermoni*) vor der Weihnachtskrippe. Weiter beschäftigt er sich mit dem Volkstheater, dem zu Weihnachten in Italien eine ebenso große Bedeutung zukommt wie dem *Colindat* bei den Rumänen. Man könnte fast vermuten, daß hier das Volkstheater andere in der Weihnachtszeit übliche Gattungen verdrängt hat[35].

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[30] Anna Pasetti, *Canti popolari trentini.* Raccolti dal Prof. Albino Zenatti. Lanciano, 1923, 127-134; s. auch Antonio Giuseppe Nocilli, Pio Benedetto Nocili, Nazareno Nocilli: *È nato per noi il Signore. Storia, teologie, folclore del Natale.* Padova, 1983, 161.

[31] Giovanni Giannini, *Canti popolari della Montagna Lucchese.* Bologna, 1889, 267-275.

[32] *Canti popolari in dialetto Logudorese.* Raccolti per cura di Giuseppe Ferraro. Torino/ Firenze/Roma, 1891, 37 und 43.

[33] Roma 1963, 211-236.

[34] Vgl. auch Giuseppe Vidossi, *Il presagio delle calende.* In: Ders., *Saggi e scritti minori di folklore.* Torino 1960, 91-103; s. auch Nocilli (Anm. 30) 162-166.

[35] Ganz erheblich hat dazu Franz von Assisi, auch "il «Sacro giullare di Dio» genannt, beigetragen. S. Lupinetti (s. Anm. 26) 118-120; Lilia Giglioli: *Natività. Sacra Famiglia e ninne-nanne nel canto popolare di alcune regioni italiane.* Firenze 1972, 1-2; Nocilli (s. Anm. 30), 176-177.

Es ist bekannt, daß die große Sammlung von Michele Barbi[36], die leider nur zum Teil veröffentlicht vorliegt, auch *canti di questua* beinhaltet. Über Herkunft und Zahl der Texte, über ihre Themen und Motive sowie über die Frage, ob sie zu Weihnachten von Jugendlichen oder vielleicht nur von Bettlern gesungen werden, haben wir nichts in Erfahrung bringen können. Wertvolle Informationen und Texte finden wir in der Sammlung von Lilia Giglioli. Verf. äußert die Vermutung, daß *„le attuali Pastorelle di Natale"* früher *„danze di letizia"* waren. In der erste Hälfte des 20. Jhs. wurden sie in der Kirche (Toscana, Sardinia) oder *„ai Vespri, durante le feste natalizie"* (Pisa, Calabria, Abruzzo) gesungen[37]. In Sizilien war es üblich, daß während der *"Novena di Natale", "cantori girovaghi"* Wiegenlieder *(Ninnaredda)* sangen, „spesso con accompagnamento di violino"[38]. Aus der Studie von Nocilli geht hervor, daß die *"canti dei pastori"* in Ciociaria, Abruzzo, Molise, Lazio, Valle dell´Aniene in Begleitung von Dudelsack *(zampogna)* und Schalmei *(ciaramella)* gesungen wurden[39]. Eine bei anderen Völkern der Romania wenig vertretene Gattung bilden die sog. *„ninnenanne natalizie"*, d.h. übliche Wiegenlieder, die *„in chiave natalizia"* gesungen werden. Sie erzählen über die Heilige Familie: *„il bambino Gesù tutto infreddollito"*, die Heilige Maria singt Wiegenlieder oder wäscht die Windeln und der Heilige Josef versucht sie abzutrocknen[40].

NEUJAHR – *CAPODANNO*

Wenn Weihnachten in Italien an Riten, Zaubereien und insbesondere an Liedern relativ arm ist, bringt Capodanno ein viel umfangreicheres Repertoire solcher Kulturgüter. Paolo Toschi listet zahlreiche Riten und Aberglauben, die diesen Feiertag begleiten: den Bohnenzauber der Mädchen, um in Erfahrung zu bringen, ob und wen sie im neuen Jahr heiraten werden; der erste Tag des Jahres gilt als Omen für die anderen 364, d.h. alle Tage wird man traurig oder fröhlich sein wie am ersten Tag des Jahres; in vielen Regionen beginnen die Bauern viele Feld-, die Hausfrauen alle denkbaren Hausarbeiten, damit sie sicher sind, daß sie das ganze Jahr Erfolg haben werden; schlechtes Zeichen ist, wenn man eine Frau, bzw. eine Nonne, gutes, wenn man einen Mönch, einen Soldaten, einen Buckligen oder ein weißes Pferd getroffen hat; alte Kleider werden weggeworfen und neue angezogen, damit alles neubeginnt; es wird geglaubt, daß um Mitternacht das Flußwasser stehenbleibt und sich in Gold verwandelt[41].

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[36] Vgl. Vittorio Santoli, *I canti popolari italiani. Ricerche e questioni*. Firenze 1968, 76; vgl. auch Vittorio Santoli, *Cinque canti dalla Raccolta Barbi*. In: *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e filosofia*, Serie II., Volume VII. Bologna, 1938, 109-192.

[37] Giglioli (s. Anm. 35), 2-6.

[38] Gilgioli (s. Anm. 35) 12, 51-54.

[39] Nocilli (s. Anm. 30), 191.

[40] Giglioli (s. Anm. 35), 6, 12-13, 19-31, 60-80; Nocilli (s. Anm. 30), 191-195.

[41] Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 237-247. Weitere Informationen dieser Art publiziert Paolo Toschi in seinem Werk: *Il folklore. Tradizioni, vita e arti popolari*. Milano, 1967, 29-30.

Mehr als diese Aberglauben und Riten interessieren uns die von Männergruppen an Fenstern der Freunde und Bekannten gesungenen Lieder, genannt „serenate" oder „mattinate". Toschi kennt das Phänomen insbesonbdere in Mittell- und Süditalien, Anna Pasetti bringt Belege aus dem Trentino[42], Giuliana Valentinis aus Friaul (Friuli)[43], Giuseppe Ferraro von Sardinien[44].

Nach diesen Autoren pflegten Gruppen von Knaben, manchmal auch von Mädchen, in Begleitung von Musikanten an den Fenstern von Freunden und Bekannten vorbeizuziehen. Sie fragten, ob sie ins Haus eintreten dürfen, sie brachten den Hausbewohnern gute Wünsche (*auguri di buon anno)* und verlangten dafür Geschenke. In einzelnen Ortschaften der Abruzzen[45] und von Molisse[46] wird der Brauch *maitunata* genannt. In Calabrien gehen die Burschen, Geschenke sammeln und werden *strinari* genannt. Sie singen *la strina.* Ähnlich in Sizilien, wo das Lied als *questua per la strena* bezeichnet wird. Belegt sind solche Knabengruppen auch in Sardinien[47]. Unter die Musikinstrumenten, die die Männergruppen mit sich führen zählt auch *bufù*, das heißt die Schnurreibtrommel, die in Rumänien bei den Winterfesten ebenfalls sehr verbreitet ist und *buhai* heißt. Im Veronese wünschen die Burschen den Hausbesitzern ein gutes Jahr und glückliche Feiertage (*bone feste*). Im Lied wird der Wunsch so zum Ausdruck gebracht:

a Nadal un bel porzél, a Pascua un bel agnél,

ein Vers, den wir auch in rumänischen *Colinde* treffen können; weiter wird Getreide und Wein, ein Beutel voll Gold und ein anderer voll Silber gewünscht. Nach den Glückwunschformeln verlangen die Burschen Geschenke. Die Bilder der *filastrocca di questua*, die aus Pescina (Mariscana) stammt, sind einem rumänischen *Colinda-Lied* sehr ähnlich:

E alzati, signora, *con quessa bella vesta*
con quessa bella treccia d'oro *te la cerco te l'addomano*
con il capello in testa *vojo la strina de Cappodanno*[48].

[42] Pasetti (s. Anm. 30), 127.

[43] Valentinis (s. Anm. 19) 42 bietet interessante Informationen bezüglich der Terminologie, wonach im Italienischen einige Weihnachtsriten durch Ableitungen aus dem lateinischen Etymon *calendae* bezeichnet werden. Die Autorin zeigt, daß regional (in *Pielungo* im *Val d'Arzino* und in *Valle di Faedis*), die von den Ansingern erhaltenen Geschenke *coleda* genannt werden: die Jugendlichen, schreibt sie, gingen in den 60er Jahren, tanzend und verschiedene Musikinstrumente spielend *„a prendere la coleda"*, daß heißt, *coleda* (Geschenke) zu sammeln.

[44] Ferraro (s. Anm. 32) 12.

[45] Mario Colangeli, *Le feste dell'anno.* Milano 1977, 11-12; Emiliano Giancristofaro, *Il mangiafavole. Inchiesta diretta sul folklore abruzzese*. Firenze, 1971, 288.

[46] Giudo Vincelli, *Iserna e la Valle del Volturno*. In: Luigi M. Lombardi Satriani (ed.), *Santi, streghe e diavoli. Il patrimonio delle tradizioni popolari nella società meridionale e in Sardegna.* Firenze, 1981, 140.

[47] Enrica Delitala, *Sassari e il Logudoro.* In: Luigi M. Lombardi Satriani (s. Anm. 46), 468.

[48] Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 242-243.

Das Geschenk zu Neujahr, *strina* genannt, erinnert, wie Toschi schreibt, an den uralten Brauch des Geschenkaustausches zum Neujahr (*scambio di doni per Capodanno)*, bei den Römern als *Sterniarum commercium* bekannt, und welches ursprünglich aus Zweigen von Lorbeer oder Ölbaum, Datteln und Honig bestand, „damit das ganze Jahr süß sein möge, wie die geschenkten Gegenstände"[49]. Mit der Zeit wurden die Zweige und Früchte als zu bescheiden angesehen und allmählich durch geschätztere Geschenke ersetzt.

DIE HEILIGEN DREI KÖNIGE – *EPIFANIA, BEFANA*

Die Epiphania gilt in Italien als *„festa dei bambini, festa di regali, di offerte"* sowie der *Befana* und der Heiligen Drei Könige[50]. In Romagna, Veneto, Abruzzo heißt dieser Feiertag *„Pasquetta"*, d.h. *„la piccola Pasqua"*[51]. In vielen Regionen Italiens ist es üblich, „Die Heiligen Drei Könige" zu „spielen".

In Bologna und Reggio Emilia, ist der Brauch *donviccia* bekannt[52], dessen Bezeichnung – so sagt die Tradition – vom lateinischen *dovitia* in der Bedeutung *abbondanza* abstammen würde. *Donviccia* findet in der Nacht vom 5. auf den 6. Januar statt, wobei Scharen von Burschen, *donviciotti* genannt, von Haus zu Haus gehen und ein Lied anstimmen, in dem sie sich als arme Pilger vorstellen und Brot, Wurst, Wein und andere Geschenke in Naturalien fordern. Nachdem sie Geschenke erhalten haben, verlassen sie das Haus indem sie *„abbondanza, abbondanza"* rufen, was der Familie Wohlstand in dem gerade begonnenen Jahr bringen soll. In Brescia und in Tre Venezie ziehen Burschenscharen als Sternsinger am Dreikönigstag[53] umher, wobei sie auch Musikinstrumente mitführen und die „Drei Könige" spielen. In Marche heißen diese Lieder *pasquelle*[54]. Dabei ziehen die Burschen von Haustor zum Haustor und erzählen von der Geburt Christi und von dem Ankommen der Könige, die von dem Stern geleitet wurden. Manchmal fordern diese Ansinger keine Gaben und sprechen keine negativen Wünsche aus, wobei ihnen aber die Gastgeber Naturalien und Geld schenken. Im Abruzzo *„una ventina di uomini andava in giro, fermandosi davanti alle case della città e di casolari sparsi intorno, a cantare la Pasquetta"*, deren Text aus folgenden Motiven bestand: Gruß der Familie, das Erscheinen der Heiligen Drei Könige und deren Pilgerfahrt *„alla*

[49] Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 243.
[50] Giglioli (s. Anm. 35) 5.
[51] Lupinetti (s. Anm. 26) 233-234.
[52] Colangeli (s. Anm. 45) 13.
[53] Ramiro Ortiz, *Cântece de stea la Padova* [Lieder der Sternensänger in Padova]. In: Gazeta Transilvaniei 106 (1943), Nr. 3, S. 5; Colangeli (s. Anm. 45) 13-14; Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 255; Valentinis (s. Anm. 19) 37, 39 bemerkt, daß das Aufnahmeverfahren der Burschen in den Bund, ihre Verpflichtungen, aber auch ihr Recht, *„trattare amorosamente con le ragazze"*, als Initiationsritus anzusehen ist.
[54] Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 254.

grotta di Betlemme"; dann verwandelt sich das Lied in ein Wiegenlied *(ninna-nanna)* in dem die Heilige Familie vorgestellt wird[55].

Einige zu diesem Anlaß gesungenen Lieder werden in der Toskana *befanate* (Sg. *befana*) – im Trentino: *beganate* – genannt[56]. Der Terminus scheint eine aus *Epifania* abgeleitete Form zu sein und bezeichnet gleichzeitig das Dreikönigsfest selbst, aber auch eine legendäre, teilweise groteske, mythische Gestalt. Der Sage nach war *Befana* – eine Parallelgestalt zur alpenländischen Bercht – eine alte, arme Frau, der die Drei Könige auf ihrer Reise nach Bethlehem, wo sie sich vor dem Knaben Jesus verneigen wollten, begegneten. Sie hätte gewünscht, sich ihnen anzuschließen, wollte aber zuerst Reisig sammeln. Danach hätte sie vergeblich versucht, die Drei Könige einzuholen und seitdem besuche sie die Kinder am Dreikönigsfest in der Hoffnung, den Knaben Jesus anzutreffen. Dabei bringt sie den braven Kindern Geschenke und bestraft diejenigen, deren Benehmen zu wünschen übrig läßt[57].

In Maremma di Grosseto wird die Befana von einer *„squadra di sette/otto, spesso più uomini" (Befanotti, Befanai, Befani)* gesungen, die ihre Lieder mit *"fisarmonica e chitarra a sostituzione dei più antichi organetto e mandolino"* begleiten. Nachdem die Sänger das Lied am Tor vorgetragen haben werden sie ins Haus eingeladen, wo ihnen *"un bicchiere di vino"* angeboten wird. Insbesondere in den Häusern, wo *„ragazze da marito"* leben, findet einen Tanz statt[58]. In Pisa war *Befana* zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. *„un uomo vestito da vecchia cenciosa con fuso e rocca in mano"*; er *„percorreva le strade a cavallo di un ciuco, seguìto da due barocci, il primo coi musicanti, il secondo per raccogliere le offerte".* In den Häusern, wo Mädchen lebten *"i cantori improvvisavano serenate scherzose"*[59].

Die *befanate* mit religiösem Inhalt beschreiben die Erschaffung der Welt, die Verkündigung, die Geburt Christi, die Anbetung der Weisen. Die mit dem profanen Inhalt beschreiben das Wesen, *che personifica la festa dell'Epifania,* sowie dessen

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[55] Giglioli (s. Anm. 35), 6-7.

[56] Giannini (s. Anm. 31) 251-266; Pasetti (s. Anm. 30), 127-129; Aurelio Rigoli, *La poesia popolare italiana. Tipologia e forme.* Messina, 1981, 112-113; Giuseppe Cocchiara, *Il linguaggio della poesia popolare.* Seconda edizione riveduta e accresciuta. Palermo 1951, 216-224; Giuseppe Cocchiara, *Le origini della poesia popolare.* Torino, 1966, 259-266; Giuseppe Cocchiara, *Problemi di poesia popolare.* Palermo [1939] 131-137; Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 248-258; Giancristofaro (s. Anm. 45) 289; Walter Keller, *Das toskanische Volkslied. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der italienischen Volksdichtung.* Basel, 1908, 34-35.

[57] Rüdiger Vossen, *Weihnachtsbräuche in aller Welt. Weihnachtszeit – Wendezeit. Martini bis Lichtmeß.* Mit Beiträgen von Karla Vossen und Gertrud Schier. Hamburg, 1985, 123-124; Françoise Lebrun (s. Anm. 19) 64; vgl. auch Raffaello Battaglia, *La „vecchia col fuso" e la filatura del lino nelle tradizioni popolari.* In: Gian Paolo Gri/Giuliana Valentinis (s. Anm. 19), 116-134; Ferdinand Herrmann, *Beiträge zur italienischen Volkskunde.* Heidelberg, 1938, 27; Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister.* München, 1990, s.v. *Befana.*

[58] Roberto Ferretti: *La tradizione della Befana nella Maremma di Grosseto.* Con una appendice di Angelo Biondi. Grosseto, 1981, 8, 12, 67.

[59] Giglioli (s. Anm. 35) 5.

Wanderungen bis zu dem entsprechenden Haus. Der Text ist folgendermaßen gegliedert: Zuerst bitten die Burschen um Erlaubnis *(permesso)*, *befana* zu singen, die – so sagen sie – aus Lucca aufgebrochen und mit dem U-Boot gekommen sei. Nach dem *Befana*-Text werden Geschenke erbeten (Nüsse, Rosinen, Süßigkeiten, Eier, Wein etc.). Im letzten Teil bedanken sich die Burschen für die Geschenke, grüßen alle Familienmitglieder, sprechen Glückwünsche (congedo/ringraziamento) aus und ziehen zu einem anderen Haus weiter, denn – so sagt der Text – über den Bergen sei bereits die Morgenröte erschienen.

In Sardinien ist es üblich, daß vier oder sechs Männer vor jedem Haustor den *„canto di tre Re"* singen und den Hausbewohnern wünschen „Hundert Jahre" zu leben[60].

LIEDER ALS BÖSES OMEN – *QUESTUE DI MALAUGURIO*

Falls die *donviciotti* keine Geschenke erhalten, kehren diese die Glückwünsche in ihr Gegenteil um, wie folgt: „Flöhe und Läuse mögen euch in die Augen springen"[61]. Andere singen oder sprechen folgende *questue di malaugurio*:

Quanti sassi in questo tetto *Quanti peli ha la mia miccia*
tanti fignoli nel petto ! *tanti fignoli nella trippa*[62].

Oder:

Tanti ciodi su la porta *Tanti diavui che ve porta*[63].

Die unzufriedenen *Befanotti* aus verschiedenen Ortschaften machen von ähnlichen Formeln Gebrauch:

... se niente a noi ci date *dai piedi fino alla testa*
anche il diavolo vi tenta *per potervi incatenar*[64].

Bilder wie diese haben wir bei den Rumänen kennengelernt und sie werden uns auch bei den Franzosen, Spaniern oder Portugiesen begegnen.

DIE JUGENDFEIER – *CENONE DELLA PASQUELLA*

Nachdem sie alle Häuser angesungen haben, endet die Feier *„in una cena e in un ballo che coinvolge tutto il paese"*, d.h. die Jugendlichen treffen sich am Abend des Dreikönigstages in einem Haus, *„dove spesso convenivano anche donne e ragazze e si faceva festa, ballando e consumando tutto quanto era stato raccolto"*[65]; manchmal wird eine *„polenta mescolata con molto formaggio"*[66]

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[60] Ferraro (s. Anm. 32) 15-16.
[61] Colangeli (s. Anm. 45) 13-14 (*„Pulci e pidocchi vi saltino agli occhi"*).
[62] Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 249.
[63] Valentinis (s. Anm. 19) 37.
[64] Ferretti (s. Anm. 58) 17.
[65] Ferretti (s. Anm. 58) 18, 67-68, 71.
[66] Colangeli (s. Anm. 45) 13-14; Toschi, *Il folklore* (s. Anm. 41) 30.

verzehrt. Dieses Fest trägt Namen, wie: *ribotto, rialto, cenone della Pasquella, satollaccia* oder *crepaccione*.

* * *

Aus den hier dargestellten Belegen geht hervor, daß das Ansingen von religiösen und profanen Liedern zu Weihnachten, zum Neujahr und zum Dreikönigstag nicht überall in Italien verbreitet ist. Was die Zahl der Lieder der Weihnachtszeit angeht, läßt sich eine andere Hierarchie als in Rumänien feststellen: in Rumänien nimmt Weihnachten die wichtigste Stellung ein, gefolgt vom Neujahr und Dreikönigstag, während bei den Italienern Weihnachten relativ arm an profanen Liedern ist, deren Zahl wächst zu *Capodanno* und zur Epiphania. Wenn in Rumänien die Weihnachtslieder/*Colinde* eine der wertvollsten Gattungen der Folklore überhaupt darstellen, betrachtet man sie in Italien als *„composizioni «minori»"*, die einer gewissen bäuerlichen Fröhlichkeit und Frische sowie eines lebhaften Rhythmus nicht entbehren[67]. Auch das Phänomen des Singens von Balladen profanen Inhaltes in der Weihnachtszeit scheint in Italien unbekannt zu sein.

FRANKREICH WEIHNACHTEN – *LA FÊTE DE NOËL*

Im Jahre 1958 veröffentlichte Arnold van Gennep seine monographische Studie über die Weihnachtszeit[68] in der er eine sowohl diachronische als auch synchronische Darstellung der Bräuche und Lieder dieser Zeitperiode in Frankreich leistet. Aus seiner Darstellung geht hervor, daß die hier untersuchten Phänomene Anfang des 20. Jh. schon im Schwinden begriffen waren.

So ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß die Feldforschung im 20. Jh. nur noch feststellen konnte, daß diese Bräuche und Lieder größtenteils verschwunden sind. Claude und Jacques Seignolle klagen über die *„pauvreté remarcable"* des „Zyklus der 12 Tage" in der Region Hurepoix (Ile de France). Sogar das ansonsten in ganz Europa verbreitete Ritual des „Holzklotzes zu Weihnachten" *(bûche de Noël)* konnte von ihnen in Hurepoix in lediglich etwa zehn Ortschaften belegt werden. Noch mehr, diese Ortschaften bilden keine kompakte Region, d.h. man kann keine Landkarte dieses Phänomens erstellen, und so stellte sich die Frage – schreiben die erwähnten Autoren – nach einer Untersuchung von Arnold van Gennep in ganz Frankreich[69].

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[67] Toschi (s. Anm. 19) 256.

[68] Arnold van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain*. Tome premier. VII. *Cycle des douze jours*. Paris, 1958.

[69] Claude et Jacques Seignolle, *Le folklore du Hurepoix. Mœurs et coutumes d'Ile de France*. Paris, 1978, 159. Für das Ritual des « Holzklotzes zu Weihnachten » in Frankreich siehe auch Claude Seignolle, *En Sologne. Mœurs et coutumes*. Nouvelle édition revue et augmenté. Paris, 1977, 107-109 ; für die französische Schweiz s. Jean Christe, Jean-Pierre Chuard, Jean Courvoisier, Henri Debluë, Henri Gremaud, Pierre Léchot, Rose-Claire Schulé, Jacques Tagini : *Noël dans les cantons romands*. Lausanne, 1980, 81, 84.

In ähnlicher Situation befinden sich auch andere Phänomene der Weihnachtszeitkultur. Der Brauch, daß alle Kinder des Dorfes, des Weilers oder des Stadtteils, jedes Haus besuchen und gute Wünsche zum Ausdruck bringen, damit sie verschiedene Sorten von Leckereien, manchmal auch etwas Geld bekommen, ist – schreibt A. van Gennep – Mitte des 20. Jh. in den Hochalpen „wie auch in anderen Regionen von Frankreich" kaum zu finden. Beobachtet wurde lediglich das Ansingen bei den Verwandten, Freunden, Nachbarn, Patinnen und Paten[70]. In den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jh. erwähnen die Folkloresammlungen – von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen[71] – lediglich das Aussterben auch des Kinder-Ansingens: *„La tournée des enfants dans toutes les maisons a fini par disparaître [in Hurepoix], comme dans le reste de la France"* - schreiben Claude und Jaques Seignolle[72]. Frühere Belege zeigen, daß das Ansingen zu Weihnachten vielerorts üblich war. Im schweizerischen Kanton Fribourg gingen bis ins 18. Jh. *„groupes de chanteurs" „de maison en maison, annoncer Noël"*[73]

Andere Riten und Glauben, die in der Weihnachtszeit belegt wurden: Es wird „geheiligtes Brot" gegessen, weil es mehrere wunderbaren Eigenschaften besitzt; es wird versucht, das Wetter in den 12 Monaten des Jahres oder die persönliche Zukunft vorauszusehen[74]; es wird geglaubt, daß zu Weihnachten die Tiere miteinander reden; wer aber im Stall bleibt und zuhört, stirbt binnen eines Jahres[75].

WEIHNACHTSLIEDER – *NOËLS, CANTIONES DE NATIVITATE*

Einer der bedeutendsten Folkloreforscher von Frankreich, Julien Tiersot, betrachtet die zu Weihnachten gesungenen *Noëls* als *„un genre semi-populaire"*, dessen Texte *„n'appartient en propre à la littérature ou à l'art populaire"*, da sie von Gelehrten, Priestern, Organisten, manchmal sogar von Dichtern geschrieben worden sind[76]. Diese Texte, die im übrigen zum größten Teil religiösen Inhalts sind, wurden nach der Bemerkung von Tiersot auf bekannten profanen Melodien

[70] Arnold van Gennep, *Le Folklore des Haute-Alpes* (s. Anm. 68) 263.

[71] Robert Jalby, *Le folklore du Languedoc. Ariège – Aude – Lauraguais – Tarn.* Paris, 1971, 138.

[72] Claude et Jacques Seignolle (s. Anm. 69) 160 ; siehe auch Simone Morand, *Anthologie de la chanson de Haute Bretagne, Penthièvre, Pays Malouin, Pays de Rennes et d'Outre-Ille, Redon Brière, Pays de Nantes.* Paris 1976, 33 ; François-André Isambert: *La fin de l'anné. Etude sur les fêtes de Noël et du Nouvel An á Paris.* Paris, 1976, 3-5.

[73] Christe et al. (s. Anm. 69) 42-43, 54.

[74] Paul Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne.* Paris, o. J., 172; Jalby (s. Anm. 71) 133-138 ; Claude Seignolle (s. Anm. 69) 111 ; s. auch Christe (Anm. 69), 99.

[75] Jalby (s. Anm. 71) 132 ; s. auch Christe (Anm. 69), 38, 84, 145.

[76] Dieselbe Meinung vertritt van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain.* Tome IV. *Bibliographie méthodique (Fin). Index des noms d'auteurs. Index par provinces.* Paris 1938, 805 sowie Henri Davenson, *Le livre des chansons ou Introduction a la chanson populaire française.* Neuchâtel, 1944, 53.

vorgetragen. Die ältesten Belege stammen aus dem 11. und 12. Jh. und zwar aus Elsaß und Poitou, spätere aus der Provence, Bresse, Bourguignon, Béarne, Perche usw.[77]

Martin Löppelmann, dem wir eine vergleichende Studie über die Weihnachtslieder der romanischen Völker zu verdanken haben[78], sieht den Ursprung der Weihnachtslieder in den mittelalterlichen *cantiones de nativitate*. Es sind kirchliche Lieder, oft von bekannten Autoren gedichtet, aber in mündlicher Tradition weitergegeben.

Löppelmann stellt fest, daß Frankreich das romanische Land ist, in dem die *cantiones de nativitate* die höchste Blüte erfahren haben, wobei sie in lateinischer Sprache, in Altfranzösisch, in modernem Französisch wie auch in Dialekten der französischen Sprache belegt sind. Nach Löppelmann behandeln die französischen Weihnachtslieder insbesondere christliche Themen, die folgende Bereiche betreffen:

1. den Zeitraum vor Christi Geburt;
2. die Krippe von Bethlehem und die drei Weisen aus dem Morgenland;
3. Episoden aus dem Zeitraum nach dem Leben Jesu';
4. lokale Glaubensvorstellungen und Bräuche, historische Ereignisse.

Zu den Motiven des letzten Bereichs zählt Löppelmann den Wunsch der Schüler nach längeren Ferien, wofür sie den Lehrern eine Belohnung versprechen, sowie die Sehnsucht der Schüler nach ihren Heimatorten. Weitere profane Motive beziehen sich auf Händler, Handwerker, Bäcker, Schuster, Schneider, auf politische Persönlichkeiten, sie kritisieren Gendarmen und Rechtsanwälte oder spotten über die Sprechweise der Gascogner und Schweizer[79]. Es kommen erotische Motive vor, die auf das Familienleben verweisen. Unter den Weihnachtsliedern zählen auch Texte, die auch bei Taufen und Hochzeiten gesungen werden, sowie *noëls,* die Bearbeitungen von weltlichen Liedern sind. Über epische Balladen im französischen Repertoire der Weihnachtslieder macht er keine genauen Angaben.

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[77] Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France.* Paris, 1889, 241-258. Vgl. auch Max Buchon, *Chants populaires de la Franche-Comté.* Paris, 1878, 15-31; Noël Hervé, *Les noëls français. Essay historique et littéraire.* Niort, 1905; Claude et Jacques Seignolle (s. Anm. 69) 161-167; Davenson (s. Anm. 76) 503-515 ; Claude Roy, *Trésor de la poésie populaire.* Paris, 1954, 213-225 ; Morand (s. Anm. 72) 33-45 ; Elisabeth Gautier-Desvaux ; Vidiane Koechlin-Schwartz: *Noël au Perche. « Noël » et « Cantiques spirituels » du XVIe siècle.* Saint-Mard-de-Réno, 1977, 15-16, 72-183. Eine umfangreiche Bibliographie bietet Arnold van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain...* Tome IV. Paris, 1938, 805-812, an.

[78] Martin Löppelmann, *Das Weihnachtslied der Franzosen und der übrigen romanischen Völker.* Berlin, 1913.

[79] Löppelmann (s. Anm. 78) 105-119 ; weitere profane Motive nennt Louis Schneider, *Das französische Volkslied.* Berlin, 1905, 27-34.

DAS PROFANE ANSINGEN IN DER WEIHNACHTSZEIT – *TOURNÉE DE L'AGUILANEUF*

Der Brauch, daß zum Neujahr Knaben wie auch Mädchen von Haus zu Haus durch das ganze Dorf gingen und den Menschen gute Wünsche (*„bonne année, bonne santé"*) für das ganze Jahr brachten sowie Riten, die zum Voraussehen der Zukunft einer Person dienen sollen[80] sind für das 19. und dem Anfang des 20. Jh. relativ gut belegt. Aber schon Du Cange erwähnte die „superstitiosa verba" mit der die Dorfbevölkerung sich in der Picardie im Mittelalter zu „Calendae Januarii" begrüßten; der eine sagte: *„Au Guy l'an neuf"*, der andere antwortete: *„Plantez, plantez"*. Du Cange's Information wurde von Angelo de Gubernatis[81] sowie von Paul Sébillot[82] übernommen, und es wurde vermutet, daß es in der genannten Formel um die keltische Gottheit *Guy* geht.

Folkloreforscher des 19. Jh. belegten den Brauch sowie das unter der Bezeichnung *Aguilaneuf* gesungene Volkslied. Zu den ersten Forschern, die sich damit beschäftigt haben, zählen Wilhelm Scheffler[83] und Julien Tiersot[84]. Eine umfangreichere Darstellung des *Aguilaneuf* sowie die zugehörige Bibliographie bietet uns Arnold van Gennep[85]. Im allgemeinen wird *Aguilaneuf* als Fest der Erneuerung des Jahres angesehen, welches, je nach Provinz zu unterschiedlichen Terminen, zwischen Weihnachten und dem Dreikönigstag stattfand. Die Bezeichnung, die Tiersot für keltisch hält[86], weist viele regionale Varianten auf, wie: *Guilloné, Hoguinano, Aguignette* etc., alle mit der Bedeutung „Gabe". Die zu diesem Anlaß gesungenen Bittlieder heißen *chansons de l'Aguilaneuf* und die Sänger werden *Guillonneurs* genannt.

Die Bezeichnung *Aguilaneuf* erscheint mehrfach in Synodaltexten des 16. Jh.; die erste Beschreibung, die wir Noël du Fail zu verdanken haben, stammt aus

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[80] Claude et Jacques Seignolle (s. Anm. 69) 167-168; Jalby (s. Anm. 71), 138-139; Sébillot (s. Anm. 74) 176-177.

[81] Angelo de Gubernatis, *La Mythologie des plantes ou les légendes du règne végétal*. Tome premier. [Paris], 1878, 156.

[82] Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de la France*. Tome troisième. Paris, 1906, 459; vgl. auch Wilhelm Scheffler, *Die französische Volksdichtung und Sage. Ein Beitrag zur Geistes- und Sittengeschichte Frankreichs*. I. Leipzig, 1884, 276.

[83] Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 276-282.

[84] Tiersot (s. Anm. 76) 186-194,

[85] van Gennep (*Manuel de folklore*... Tome VII, s. Anm. 68), 2874-2981, 3024-327; Ders., *Manuel de folklore français contemporain*. Tome III. *Questionnaires – Provinces et pays. Bibliographie méthodique*. Paris 1937, 391-408 ; Id., *Manuel de folklore français contemporain. Supplément à la Bibliographie méthodique Tomes III et IV* revu et complété par Bernardette Guichard. Paris, 1992, 51.

[86] Im Bretonischen *eginan* bedeutet „étrenne", Gabe. Vgl. Bernard Fuller (Hrsg.), *La France qui chante. A Collection of French Folk-Songs*. London/Melbourne/Toronto, 1959, 40 ; vgl. auch Raymond Lucien, *Noël en Normandie*. In : Folklore de France 32 (1981/6), Nr. 180, S. 21-26.

derselben Zeit[87]. Dieser beschreibt den Brauch in der Bretagne so: Eine Gruppe, die aus mehreren Männern bestand (einer mit einem *tambourin de suisse*, ein anderer mit einer Querflöte, *fiffre* genannt, ein dritter mit *„une grande et large poche pour mettre les andouilles et autre émoluments de la queste* sowie *la bourse"*, ein vierter mit einem Spieß, an dem er den Speck trug) rief vor dem Tor eines jedem Hauses:

„Ha ! Dieu te garde, or ça, compain, donne-nous Aguilaneuf !"

In Limousin riefen die Jugendlichen vor jedem Tor so aus: *„Le guillaneu nous faut donner, gentil seigneur, le guillaneu donnez-le-nou, à nous compagnons"*. Die Geschenke bestanden aus Äpfeln, Birnen, Kastanien, Nüssen, Haselnüssen, Geld usw. Nach dem Erhalt der Geschenke wurden Glückwünsche ausgesprochen.

Im 19. Jh. war der Brauch mehr in westlichen als in östlichen Gegenden Frankreichs noch üblich: Normandie, Bretagne, Anjou, Champagne, Orléanais, Nivernais, Ile-de-France, Brie Française, Touraine, Poitou, Vendée, Limousin, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, Guyenne, Gascogne, Bourgogne, Lorraine, Artois, Picardie[88]. Arnold van Gennep entdeckte ein Dokument aus dem 19. Jh., das in einem Ort namens Orne (wahrscheinlich Normandie) aufgeschrieben wurde, in dem es heißt: *„pendant l'Avent et depuis le soir jusqu'aux approches du jour, quelques villageois allaient de porte en porte pour chanter de noëls dont la plupart étaient fort ridicules (sic !). Ils les terminaient ordinairement par la formule druidique (sic !) : Aguianeuf, Aguianeuf, On vous demande"*[89].

Ein weiterer Beleg aus dem 19. Jahrhundert, der aus der Bretagne stammt und den wir Théodore Hersart de la Villemarqué zu verdanken haben, ergänzt mit mehreren Details die bisherigen Beschreibungen des Brauches. Er zeigt, daß die Männer ein altes mit Stoffbändern und Lorbeerzweigen geschmücktes Pferd dabei hatten, worauf die Geschenke geladen wurden[90]. Am Tor eines jedes Dorfhauses fand ein Dialog zwischen der Schar und dem Hausbesitzer statt. Zuerst lobten die Männer das große und schöne Haus, zu dem sie ankamen. Der Hausbesitzer stellte ihnen folgendes Rätsel:

– Wieviele Federn hat die Henne?

Die Antwort lautete:

– Soviele, wie Sterne den Mond umgeben.

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[87] Siehe Théodore Hersart de La Villemarqué, *Le Barzhaz Breizh. Trésor de la littérature orale de la Bretagne*. Kerangwenn Spézet, 1997, 445.

[88] van Gennep (*Manuel de folklore...*, Tome VII, s. Anm. 68) 2874-2981; Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 277; Tiersot (s. Anm. 77), 191 findet in den östlichen Teilen Frankreichs, von Champagne und Lorraine bis zum Dauphiné, ein ähnliches Ansingen zum 1. Mai statt. Arnold van Gennep (*Le folklore des Hautes-Alpes...*, s. Anm. 68) 266 zeigte, daß in den Hochalpen sowie in Savoie und Isère der Brauch *Aguilaneuf* unbekannt ist. Für die Verbreitung des Terminus *Aguilaneuf*, siehe Atlas Linguistique de la France, Frage Nr. 924.

[89] *Manuel de folklore français contemporain. Tome premier. VI. Les cérémonies périodiques cycliques et saisonnières. 4. Les cérémonies agricoles et pastorales de l'automne.* Paris, 1953, 2851.

[90] In Rumänien werden die Geschenke von einem Mann getragen, der Stute (*iapă*) genannt wird.

Erst danach wurden die Tore geöffnet und die Männer empfangen. Es folgten Glückwünsche für die Gesundheit der Eheleute und der Kinder, wie z. B.: viele Skarabäen, viel Rotwein, Gerste, Weizen, Hanf etc. im Neuen Jahr. Aufgrund von Folkloresammlungen systematisiert W. Scheffler die Wünsche wie folgt: „soviel Rinder, wie die Henne Eier lege, soviel Hühner, wieviel Girlanden das festtäglich geschmückte Haus trage, soviel Ochsen, wie Nägel im Hause, soviel Schafe, wie Frösche in der Lache quaken, soviel Gänse, wie Blumen auf der Wiese duften, soviel Truthähne, wie der Weinstock Reben trage. Der Hausfrau aber werden soviel Jungen (!) wie Falten im Unterrock gewünscht, und der gleiche Wunsch kehrt in der Gascogne an den Hausherrn wieder: Gott erhalte Euch Euer Weib, die Euch den Kamin mit Kindern ziert; soviel Söhne gebe sie Euch, wie Fliegen an der Wand“[91].

Nach der Aussprache der Wünsche erbatten die *Guilloneurs* Geschenke[92] und forderten die Hausbesitzer auf, sich zu beeilen, denn sie (so sagen auch diejenige aus Rumänien und Italien) noch viele Häuser besuchen müssen[93]. Als Geschenke wünschten sie: ein Stückchen oder besser den ganzen Neujahrskuchen; kein schwarzes Brot, sondern einen goldbraunen Brotlaib, kein Stroh, sondern Eier; häufig wird Geld verlangt, aber kein *Deut* (ein Fünfzehntel der Kupfermünze), sondern einen *sou marque* (eine ganze Kupfermünze). Nicht selten kamen Andeutungen auf die Heirat vor: „Wenn Ihr denn gar nichts zu geben habt [...], dann gebt uns das Hausmädchen, der Träger des Korbes wird sie zum Frühling freien“; manchmal begnügten sich die Burschen mit der Dienerin, in anderen Texten verlangen sie die hübscheste der Töchter, doch nicht ohne Aussteuer und „hundert Franken dazu“[94]. Wenn sie üppige Geschenke bekamen, sagten die Männer: „wir sind bislang noch keinem solchen Haus begegnet, und auch Geschenke wie diese haben wir noch nicht erhalten“[95].

DIE CHANSONS DE L'AGUILANEUF

Die *Guillonneurs* sind Scharen von Jugendlichen oder Kindern, die manchmal von dem Kantor der Kirche selbst angeführt werden, aber auch Scharen von armen Leuten, die sich diese Gelegenheit nicht entgehen lassen. Sie ziehen von Haus zu Haus und singen *une chanson consacrée à cet usage*[96]. Es fehlt bisher ein Korpus von solchen Texten, sie sind aber in regionalen Sammlungen von Volksdichtungen zu finden. Als Beispiel bringen wir einen im normandischen Caux aufgezeichneten und von Tiersot publizierten Text:

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[91] Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 279-281; s. auch Hersart de la Villemarqué (s. Anm. 87) 443.

[92] Wie Hersart de la Villemarqué (s. Anm. 87) 446 zeigt, trugen die Männer in der Bretagne vierblättrige Klee bei sich, um sicher zu sein, daß sie den größtmöglichen Erfolg beim Sammeln von Geschenken erzielen werden könnten.

[93] Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 281.

[94] Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 281.

[95] Hersart de la Villemarqué (s. Anm. 87) 441-444.

[96] Tiersot (s. Anm. 77) 189; s. auch Christe et al. (Anm. 69), 128, 145.

Aguignette à fleur de lys, *Qui en est la plus certaine;*
Quand j'irons en paradis, *Elle y roule sa brouette*
Entre Pâques et Noël, *Tout le longue du Paradis*
Il y fait si bon, si bel. *Donnez-mois mes aguignettes*
Y a ma seur Madeleine *En l'honneur de Jésus-Christ. Aguignola*[97]

In einer anderen Variante, die aus Périgord stammt, wird der „tapfere, beherzte" Edelmann (Hausbesitzer) von den Burschen gebeten, ihnen „la Guillané" (das Geschenk) zu geben, und wenn sein Messer nicht schneiden kann, werden diese auch mit dem ganzen Stück zufrieden sein[98].

DAS GEGENTEIL DER DANKSAGUNG – *COUPLET DE MALÉDICTION ET D'IMPRÉCATION*

Die *Guillonneurs* bedanken sich (manchmal in Versform) für die erhaltenen Geschenke. Aber sie sind nicht immer zufrieden mit dem, was sie in den besuchten Häusern bekommen haben. In diesen Fällen sprechen sie keine guten Wünsche aus. Wie in Rumänien („descolindatul") oder in Italien („questue di mal augurio"), kehren sie die Wünsche ins Gegenteil um, z.B.:

so viele Kinder, wie Steine auf dem Feld[99].

In La Roche-sur-Yon und in der Vendée wird den Hausbesitzern gedroht:

„wenn ihr uns nichts geben wollt, gehen wir zum Hühnerstall und fangen alle Kapaune";

oder:

„wenn ihr uns nichts gebt, nehmen wir die große Tochter, die den Topf auf den Herd stellt, wir werden sie in den Wald bringen und werden ihr das Spiel der Liebe beibringen".

In der Bretagne droht man mit den Feen, die Rache nehmen werden, und in der Champagne mit „drei Gabeln in den Schlund".

In anderen Orten gewinnt die Drohung den Charakter eines Fluches:

„möge euch Gott Gesundheit geben, wie Wasser in einem Brotkorb"; „Gott möge euch Durchfall bis zum nächsten Weihnachtsfest bescheren"[100].

Ein Festmahl, das die Jugend mit den gesammelten Geschenken bietet, wie *„berea"* oder *„butoiul"* bei den Rumänen, *la cenone della Pasquella, satollaccia* oder *crepacione* bei den Italienern, erwähnt Tiersot lediglich nach dem Abschluß des Maifest-Ansingens[101].

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[97] Tiersot (s. Anm. 77) 190; Hersart de la Villemarqué (s. Anm. 87) 445 weiß, daß in der Zeit zwischen 1853-1856 das *Comité de la langue, de l'histoire et des arts* etwa 16 Texte von verschiedenen Sammlern bekommen hat.

[98] Fuller (s. Anm. 86) 40.

[99] Tiersot (s. Anm. 77) 193.

[100] Lebrun (s. Anm. 19) 38-39; Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 282.

[101] Tiersot (s. Anm. 77) 191; Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 282.

DREI KÖNIGSTAG – *EPIPHANIE*

„L´Epiphanie s´est universalisée et banalisée" - schreibt Claude Seignolle indem er sich auf Sologne bezieht[102]. Verbreitet ist der Brauch, der *„tirage de la galette"* heißt, und seine Spuren sogar in sprichwörtlichen Redensarten hinterlassen hat. Zum Dreikönigstag wird einen Kuchen gebacken, in dem eine Bohne jeglicher Art oder eine Figur aus Porzellan versteckt ist; derjenige, der die Bohne oder die Figur findet, wird zum König deklariert und verpflichtet, eine Runde Wein, Bier oder Schnaps zu bezahlen. Er bekommt aber auch das Recht, sich eine Königin auszuwählen und sie zu umarmen. Ein Teil des Kuchens wird für die Armen aufbewahrt[103].

Das Fest der Heiligen Drei Könige umfaßt Riten und Lieder für die Austilgung der Ungeziefer mit Hilfe eines Strohwischs (*brandon de paille, torche de paille*) und erreichen ihren Höhepunkt mit dem *Fête de Brandons*, ein Feuer in das Katzen, als „Genossen böser Zauberer", geworfen werden[104].

EPISCHE LIEDER IN DER WEIHNACHTSZEIT – *CHANSONS DE QUÊTE ÉPIQUES*

A. van Gennep betont den profanen Charakter der Lieder des „12 Tage-Zyklus". Einige dieser Lieder enthalten einen epischen Kern, d.h. sie erzählen eine kurze Geschichte oder beschreiben ein Abenteuer. Sie sind jedoch *„pas très nombreux ni connus dans toute la France"*. Es geht aber nicht um bekannte Balladen, wie in Rumänien oder in Spanien, sondern einfach um erzählende Lieder. Eine große Zahl solcher Lieder finden wir in Rumänien, einige auch in Italien, z.B. die *Befanate*.

A. van Gennep listet diese Lieder auf und weist auf die Gegend hin, wo sie aufgenommen worden sind. Es geht um folgende Themen: die *Guilloneurs* müssen *Aguilaneuf* singen, um ihre weißen Pferde beschlagen zu können, denn sie haben ihre Hufeisen verloren (*„Le cheval déferré"*, Vendée); sie erzählen die Geschichte von drei Frauen, von denen die hübscheste in den Fluß fiel und mit einem silbernen Haken gerettet wurde (*„Le petit pont"* oder *„Les Dames de Nontron"*, Périgord), eine Geschichte von dem großen Baum im Meer (*„Le Grand Arbre dans la Mer"*, Oléron-Insel und Vendée), von der Ziege, die unter dem Tor tot liegt (*„La Chèvre morte"*, Limoges), von dem Königssohn, der in den Wald von Ungarn jagen geht und lediglich einen Vogel fängt, den er seiner Geliebten schenkt (*„Le Fils du Roi s´en va chasser"*, Lot-et-Garonne), von der Dame, die in Paris heiratete und mit

[102] Claude Seignolle (s. Anm. 69) 111.

[103] Claude Seignolle (s. Anm. 69) 112; Claude et Jacques Seignolle (s. Anm. 69), 169-170; Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 284; Jalby (s. Anm. 71) 139; Claude Seignolle (s. Anm. 69) 112; Villeneuve, *Mœurs, usages, coutumes et langage de Provençaux*. Nyons, 1972, 14-17.

[104] Scheffler (s. Anm. 82) 286-287.

Silber genähte Kleider trägt („*La Dame de Paris*", Périgord) sowie die Geschichte von der Schwester Madeleine, die in Paradies ihre Schubkarre rollen wird („*Fleur de Lys*", Normandie)[105]. Eigentliche Balladen im Repertoire der Weihnachtszeit sind A. van Gennep unbekannt.

SPANIEN UND PORTUGAL

Im Unterschied zu Frankreich, für das die Forschung festgestellt hat, daß das Volkslied sowie viele Aspekte des Brauchtums schon in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jh. im Schwinden begriffen waren, erweist sich die Folklore der Iberischen Halbinsel von einer außerordentlichen Lebendigkeit. Dies beweisen die unzähligen Publikationen der letzten zweieinhalb Jahrzehnte in Spanien und Portugal. Viele von ihnen sind das Ergebnis von Feldforschungen unserer Zeit, d.h. sie spiegeln das gegenwärtige Stadium der Folkloreentwicklung beider Länder wider. Eine große Zahl von Publikationen beziehen sich auf den Winterzyklus. Galicien[106] und Potugal[107], Extremadura[108], Andalusien[109], Madrid[110], wie auch Katalonien[111] sind am besten repräsentiert. Es kann vorab gesagt werden, daß auf der Iberischen

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[105] van Gennep (*Manuel de folklore...*, Tome VII, s. Anm. 68) 2978-2979.

[106] F. Bouza-Brey, *Analogías gallego-portuguesas en el cancionero popular*. In: 'Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares' 2 (1946), 69-97; Antonio Fraguas Fraguas, *Contribucion al estudio de la Navidad en Galicia. Nadales, Aninovos, Xaneiras y Reyes*. In: 'Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares' 3 (1947), 401-443; Clodio González Pérez, *As festas cíclicas do Ano. Temas de cultura popular para o ensino*. Santiago de Compostela 1991; Jesús Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad gallega y su ritualidad*. In: 'Actad do Congresso Internacional de Etnografía', Volume terceiro, 3ª Secção. Lisboa 1965, 569-593; Jesús Taboada Chivite, *Ritos galegos de Nadal*. Santiago de Compostela, 1992.

[107] Afonso Duarte, *O ciclo do Natal na literatura oral portuguesa*. Segunda edição melhorada. Barcelos, 1937.

[108] Valeriano Gutierrez Macías, *La tradicional Nochebuena extremeña*. In: 'Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares' 16 (1960), 509-526; J. Marcos Arévalo, *Fiestas populares extremeñas*. Badajoz 1984; Fernando Flores del Manzano, *La vida tradicional en el Valle del Jerte*. Mérida, 1992.

[109] Germán Robles Tejerizo, *Poesía y música de Navidad en Granada*. III. *Comarcas de Guadix, Baza y Huéscar*. Granada, 1995; German Robles Tejerizo, *Nuevas reflexiones en torno al folclore de Navidad: Aspectos costumbristas y literarios*. In: *III Congreso de folclore andaluz: danza, música e indumentaria tradicional*. Almeria [1992?], 95-116; Salvador Rodríguez-Becerra (Hrsg.), *Guia de fiestas populares de Andalucía* [ohne Ort und Jahr], S. 176, 187, 216, 218, 252, 284, 290, 291, 293, 309, 319, 443, 462, 534, 563, 590; Rafael Requerey Ballesteros, *La tradición oral en la Subbética*. Córdoba, 1990; José Linares Palma, *Villancicos para las misas de Aguinaldo y Nochebuena de Juviles (Las Alpujarras)*. In: 'Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares' 8 (1952) 686-700; Germán Tejerizo Robles, *Villancicos de la Alpujarra y del Valle de Lecrín*. Granada, 1983.

[110] Eduardo García Matos, *Cancionero popular de la provincia de Madrid*. Madrid, 1951; Consolación González Casarrubios et al., *Fiestas populares del ciclo de invierno de la Comunidad de Madrid*. Madrid, 1995.

[111] R. Violant i Simorra, *El libre de Nadal. Costums, creences, significat i origens*. Barcelona, 1983; Joan Prat, Jesús Contreras, *Les festes populars*. [Barcelona] , 1984.

Halbinsel, ebenso wie in Rumänien, beide hier interessierenden Aspekte des Phänomens – das Ansingen der Jugend und das Vorhandensein von epischen Volksliedern (Balladen) im Liedrepertoire der Erwachsenen zum Winterzyklus – anzutreffen sind.

AGUINALDOS UND *VILLANCICOS*

Der Terminus *Aguinaldo,* der mit dem französischen *Aguilaneuf* verwandt zu sein scheint, bezeichnet die von der Jugend zu Weihnachten, zu Neujahr und zum Dreikönigstag erhaltenen Geschenke, indem sie von Haus zu Haus ziehen und *coplas* mit der Begleitung von Dudelsack, Schellentrommel, Maultrommel etc. singen[112]. Dieselbe Bezeichnung tragen auch die Texte, mit denen die Geschenke verlangt werden. Die Akteure selbst werden *Aguinalderos* genannt.

Für die literarisch-musikalische Gattung der profanen und christlichen Weihnachtslieder wird die Bezeichnung *villancico*[113] verwendet. Eine viel differenziertere Terminologie bieten Galicien und Portugal, wo die zu Weihnachten gesungenen Lieder *nadales, panxoliñas, navidas* heißen, diejenigen, die zum Neujahr gesungen werden, *xaneiras, aninovos* und *manueles,* während diejenigen, die zu Dreikönigstag vorgetragen werden, den Namen *reis* oder *aguinaldos* tragen[114]. Der *villancico* kann religiösen oder profanen Inhalts sein[115]. Entgegen den Erwartungen, stammt keine der oben genannten Bezeichnungen vom lateinischen Terminus *calendae* ab[116].

Das Weihnachtsansingen in Spanien und Portugal weist viele Gemeinsamkeiten mit den Formen auf, die wir in der Ostromania gefunden haben. Mit einem bedeutenden Unterschied: In Rumänien findet das intensivste Ansingen zu Weihnachten statt, das zu Neujahr und Dreikönigstag ist von geringerer Bedeutung; auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (wie übrigens auch in Italien) finden wir eine genau umgekehrte Reihenfolge, d. h. das intensivste Ansingen findet am Dreikönigsfest statt, während das Neujahrsfest an zweiter und das Weihnachtsfest an dritter Stelle rangieren. Diese Tatsache deutet darauf hin, daß hier die Tradition

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[112] In lateinamerikanischen Ländern unserer Zeit heißt *aguinaldo* auch das dreizehnte Gehalt im Jahr.

[113] José Subirá, *El villancico literario-musical. Bosquejo histórico.* In: 'Revista de literatura' 43-44 (1962), 5-27; Isabel Pope, *Villancico.* In: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Band 13. Kassel/Paris/London/New York 1966, s.v. *Villancico*; Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, *Ensayo de un diccionario de literatura.* Tomo I. *Terminos, conceptos, «ismos» literarios.* Madrid, 1972, 1200.

[114] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 401; Bouza-Brey (s. Anm. 106) 90.

[115] Subirá (s. Anm. 113); González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 15; Narciso Alonso Cortes, *Villancicos y representaciones populares de Castilla.* Valladolid, 1982, 8.

[116] Julio Caro Baroja, *Mascaradas de invierno en España y en otras partes.* In: *Revista de dialectologia y tradiciones populares* 19 (1963) behauptet auf S. 253, während er über das Maifest schreibt, daß es in Mandoñedo, Region Lugo, das Fest *„Quendas"* gegeben habe, eine Bezeichnung, die eine Kontraktion aus lat. *„kalendae"* darstellen würde.

aus der Zeit, in der die Geburt und die Taufe Christi am gleichen Tag gefeiert wurden, bis in unsere Zeit lebendig geblieben ist.

WEIHNACHTEN – *NOCHEBUENA, NAVIDAD*

Es wird behauptet, daß in fast allen Regionen Spaniens und Portugals das Weihnachtsfest an Bedeutung verloren habe. Schuld daran seien die soziokulturellen Umwälzungen innerhalb der spanischen und portugiesischen Dörfer, insbesondere die Flucht der jüngeren Generationen vom Dorf in die Städte nach der Abschaffung der Diktatur. Das Ansingen zu Weihnachten bekam aber schon viel früher eine starke Konkurrenz seitens des religiösen Volkstheaters. Die *Autos de Navidad (pastorelas* oder *pastoradas, los nacimientos, corderadas de Navidad* etc.*)* haben das Weihnachtsansingen jedenfalls geschwächt, ohne es vollkommen beseitigen zu können. Ein indirekter Beweis dafür bildet die Situation der rumänischen Colinde: Wie gesehen ist in Rumänien das Volkstheater wenig verbreitet, dafür erfreuen sich die Colinde der größten Beliebtheit und Verbreitung.

In der nord-westlichsten Ecke Spaniens, d.h. in Galizien wurde ein saturnalischer Aspekt des Weihnachtsfests belegt[117]: Dort ist üblich, daß am 24. Dezember, nach Sonnenuntergang, Hirten und Diener die Tiere einschließen und sich in Richtung der Häuser ihrer Herren begeben, um diesen Glückwünsche auszusprechen. Dort werden sie zu Tisch gebeten und werden von ihren Herren selbst bedient, man könnte sagen, wie bei den alten Römern. Nach dem Abendmahl singen sie *romances* und *villancicos* und erzählen ihre Abenteuer mit wilden Tieren. Anschließend ziehen sie durch das ganze Dorf und singen vor den Toren der Mitbürger in Begleitung verschiedener Musikinstrumente (*dulceínas, zambombas* und *zarramplinas*). Früher existierte noch der Brauch, daß die Hirten auch an dem Gottesdienst zu Mitternacht – *misa del Gallo* – teilnahmen, nach welcher *sie* den Kindern und Jugendlichen des Dorfes Geschenke anboten[118].

In seiner Folkloresammlung von 1951 zeigte García Matos, daß in der Provinz Madrid zum Repertoire der Winterfeiertage nicht nur Heischelieder *(aguinaldos),* sondern auch andere Gattungen der Folklore gehören, wie z. B. Liebeslieder oder epische Volkslieder *(cantares amorosos, cantos corridos y de relación)*[119], von denen einige auch anläßlich des Maifestes gesungen werden. Am *aguinaldo* nimmt vor allem – so schrieb Matos – die männliche Bevölkerung einer Ortschaft teil. Burschenscharen durchziehen die Straßen und singen Heischelieder *(cancioncillas petitoras)* von Reibtrommeln, Schellentrommeln etc. begleitet. In

[117] G. Manrique, *Cultura popular pastoril.* In: 'Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares' 8 (1952) 510-511.

[118] Manrique (s. Anm. 117) 510-511.

[119] García Matos (s. Anm. 110) zitiert nach González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 15.

Pezuela de las Torres gingen Burschen und Männer bis vor nicht allzu langer Zeit als Bären verkleidet umher. In *Robledillo de la Jara* und *Torrelaguna*[120] wurden Gruppen von Burschen und Mädchen im Heiratsalter belegt, in *Berzosa de Lozoya* oder *Valdaracete*[121] nur von Mädchen, und in *Cubas* sowohl von Burschen als auch von Verheirateten[122]. Allgemein verbreitet bleibt jedoch das Ansingen durch kleinere Gruppen von Kindern.

In der Extremadura überschwemmen Menschen jeden Alters Straßen und Lokale. Sie singen *villancicos* und tanzen auf der Straße[123], ein Phänomen, das ebenfalls in der Provinz Madrid[124] sowie in Barcelona[125] beobachtet wurde.

Das Umherziehen der Männerbünde von Haus zu Haus und das Vortragen von Texten über die Geburt Christi beginnt in Spanien, genauso wie in Rumänien, Italien oder Frankreich, mit dem Ersuchen um die Erlaubnis anzusingen[126], weil – so sagen sie – es ungehörig wäre, in einem solch *edlen* Haus ohne Einverständnis der Hausherren zu singen[127]. Es kommt einem so vor, als ob man die rumänischen *Colindători* hören würde, für die die Gastgeber (egal ob arm oder reich) *große Edelleute* („boieri mari") genannt werden. Wenn die *Aguinalderos* wissen, daß sich eine Familie in Trauer befindet, fragen sie: *„¿cantamos o rezamos?"* Dies weist auf die frühere Existenz von Trauerliedern im Repertoire des Weihnachtszyklus hin, die in der Gegenwart zu Gebeten geworden sind[128].

Die Texte, wie auch ihre Motive, sind ziemlich mobil, d.h. viele von ihnen können an mehreren Terminen (Weihnachten, Neujahr, Dreikönigstag) vorgetragen werden[129]. Manchmal werden sie an die Lage des Angesungenen angepaßt. Durch einige stilistische Merkmale rücken die *Villancicos* in die Nähe der rumänischen *Colinde*. Folgende Verse haben eine fast identische Parallele bei den Rumänen:

Esta noche es Nochebuena que ha nacido Jesucristo
y no es noche de dormir y lo hay que ir a divertir[130].

Die *Nadales* erzählen über die Reise von Maria und Josef nach Bethlehem und über die Geburt Jesu. In manchen Texten loben die *Aguinalderos* das Haus (hoch wie ein Palast, die großen Fenster aus Olivenbäumen, wie die Fenster einer Kirche) sowie die Gestalt des Hausherrn und enden, wie dieser Text aus Deza (Galicien), mit dem Wunsch:

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[120] González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 19, 20.
[121] González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 19, 25.
[122] González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 21-22; derselbe Brauch ist auch in der galicischen Ortschaft Velle belegt worden, vgl. Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 574.
[123] Gutierrez Macías (s. Anm. 94) 511.
[124] González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 15.
[125] Violant i Simorra (s. Anm. 111) 39.
[126] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 435; Taboada Chivite, *Ritos galegos* (s. Anm. 106) 15; Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 574; González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 18.
[127] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 404.
[128] Linares de Palma (s. Anm. 109) 699; Violant i Simorra (s. Anm. 111) 167.
[129] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 403-443.
[130] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 408, 412.

Ellos vivan hasta el año
nos vivamos, que volvamos[131]

Einem Bauern werden viele Kühe gewünscht:

Dios lle dea tantas vacas como no curral hai lapas[132].

Die Geschenke (Eier, Wurst, Getränke, Geld)[133] werden allegorisch gefordert, indem sich die Burschen als nach Geld suchende Engel vorstellen:

Angelitos somos, música traemos,
del Cielo bajamos, dinero buscamos[134].

Andere Male deuten sie auf Getränke hin:

Esta noche es Nochebuena dame la bota, Maria
y mañana de Navidad; que me quiero emborrachar[135].

oder, wie in Portugal, wo die *Aguinalderos* die Stabreibtrommel *(zambomba),* als Vorwand nehmen, indem sie sagen, daß das Instrument (in Form eines Fasses) Wein benötigt, während der Bursche, der darauf spielt, ein Mädchen bekommen möchte:

El el mocito que la toca Pide una niña soltera[136],

wobei auf den Charakter des Brauches als vorhochzeitlicher Ritus angespielt wird.

Mancherorts tragen die Aguinalderos ihre Lieder in zwei Gruppen, d.h. die erste singt die Strophe, die zweite den Refrain.

Erwähnenswert ist auch die Tatsache, daß, wie in Italien, das Lied über die Geburt Christi manchmal auch in der Funktion als Wiegenlied erscheint[137].

NEUJAHR – *NOCHEVIEJA*

Das Neujahrsfest wird als *la segunda fiesta de Navidad, día del Niño* oder *Nochevieja* bezeichnet – in diesem Zusammenhang erinnern wir, daß in Transsilvanien das Neujahr ebenfalls *kleine Weihnachten* genannt wird – aber nichtdestotrotz zeichnet sich dieses Fest durch ein intensiveres Ansingen aus als das eigentliche Weihnachtsfest. Gruppen von zwölf- bis vierzehnjährigen Burschen, *Aguinalderos* genannt, singen an, indem sie jeweils zu zweit eine Strophe vortragen.

Diesmal handeln die Lieder von der Verabschiedung des vergangenen Jahres, von der Geburt Jesu, von der Anbetung der Drei Weisen, von der Herabkunft des

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[131] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 412.

[132] Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 575; Taboada Chivite, *Ritos galegos* (s. Anm. 106) 18.

[133] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 425, 428.

[134] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 407.

[135] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 403.

[136] Duarte (s. Anm. 107) 29.

[137] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 415. Das Phänomen wird auch für Kolumbien erwähnt, vgl. Luis Francisco Suárez Pineda, *Celebraciones navideñas y de comienzos de año en algunas regiones de Colombia.* In: ‚Tesaurus' 20 (1965), 571-575.

Herrn auf Erden, von der Säuberung des Himmels von allem Übel (ein Motiv, welches an das des „Silberbesens" aus den rumänischen *Colinden* erinnert)[138] und sogar von der Kreuzigung Christi. Anschließend richtet der Bursche, der die Geschenke entgegengenommen hat, an die Gastgeber und deren Kinder den Glückwunsch:

Que por moitos anos...!

worauf der Rest der Gruppe mit *vivaaa*[139] antwortet.

Auch diesmal werden die Geschenke mit einer scheinbaren Bescheidenheit gefordert:

Deanos aguinaldo, un touciño enteiro
anque sea pouco, e a mitá d-outro[140].

Ein anderes Mal wird Geld für die Neujahrsfeier verlangt, eine Forderung, die von Drohungen begleitet werden kann:

Señor caballero honrado
deanol-o aguinaldo,
se no lo queredes dar,
Dios quiera que de hoy en un año
nos tengan para nos dar[141].

Wie bei den Rumänen, Italienern, Franzosen verlangen manchmal die galicischen Burschen, daß sich die Gastgeber mit den Geschenken beeilen, denn sie hätten noch viele Häuser zu erreichen[142]. Wenn die Gastgeber es ablehnen, ihnen Geschenke zu geben, werden sie mit Fäkalien bedroht[143] oder ihnen sogar der Tod gewünscht:

Aqui non nos deron inda doxe nun ani
do demo cousa; estén debaixo da lousa[144].

Wenn die Jugendlichen mit den Geschenken unzufrieden sind, singen sie satirische Lieder[145].

DREIKÖNIGSTAG – *REYES*

Der Dreikönigstag scheint das wichtigste Fest des gesamten Winterzyklus zu sein, zumindest steht es so in der Romanze über *La muerte del Maestre de Santiago*, die uns weiter unten beschäftigen wird. In Kastillien ist die Institution bekannt, die

[138] Béla Bartók, *Melodien der rumänischen Colinde (Weihnachtslieder)*. Budapest, 1968, 248.
[139] Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 576; Taboada Chivite, *Ritos galegos* (s. Anm. 106) 19; Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 420.
[140] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 420; Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 575; Taboada Chivite, *Ritos galegos* (s. Anm. 106) 18.
[141] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 417.
[142] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 419, 420, 421.
[143] Fernando Flores del Manzano, *La vida tradicional en el Valle del Jerte*. Mérida, 1992, 236.
[144] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 421.
[145] González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 18-19.

Reinado de Navidad heißt. Die Jugend wählt einen König und eine Königin, mit denen sie von Haus zu Haus ziehen und *aguinaldo* verlangen, um den Musiker und andere Ausgaben der Jugend am Jahresende und -beginn bezahlen zu können.

In den Ortschaften, in denen sich das Fest am besten erhalten hat, wie Cotobad in Galicien[146], organisiert sich die Jugend ganz wie in Rumänien in drei Gruppen:

1. Die Kinder unter 9 Jahren bilden (einen) *bando dos nenos*. Sie singen lediglich Fragmente von *villancicos* oder rezitieren eine bis zwei *coplas* ohne jeglichen Zusammenhang mit dem eigentlichen Fest;

2. Die Jungen zwischen 9 und 15 Jahren bilden einen weiteren Bund; sie ziehen von Tor zu Tor, fragen, ob es ihnen erlaubt ist, villancicos zu singen, und singen nur dort, wo es erwünscht wird;

3. Die Burschen und die erwachsenen Personen bilden den *bando dos reis*, der in *Carballedo xunta* genannt wird.

Früher war es in einigen Regionen Portugals und Spaniens üblich, zum Beispiel in der portugiesischen Ortschaft *Villaviciosa* oder in der galicischen *Mondariz*, wo sich der Brauch bis in jüngster Zeit erhalten hat, daß nach dem Gottesdienst sechs Paare von Burschen und Mädchen vom Bild der Heiligen Maria bis zum Innenhof der Kirche tanzten[147].

In unserer Zeit beginnen die *Aguinalderos* ihren Umzug am Hause des Priesters[148]. Erst danach gehen sie zu den anderen Häusern.

Die Lieder haben eine sehr einfache Struktur: Es wird die Familie begrüßt und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Lage gelobt. Lobgepriesen wird z. B. im Hause eines Priesters er selbst, weil er den Menschen den Weg ins Paradies weist, und sein Haus, das wie ein Kloster aussieht, weil in ihm begabte Priester und Mönche geboren wurden:

Esta casa sí que es casa; nacieron curas y frailes,
este sí que es un convento: hombres de mucho talento[149].

Im Hause eines Mädchens im heiratsfähigen Alter wird dessen Schönheit (wie ein vom Himmel gefallener Stern) besungen:

Del cielo cayó una estrella y todos adivinamos
que a todos nos dió envidia, que la estrella era Placidia[150].

In einem Hause, wo ein Bursche lebt, wird dessen Tapferkeit hochgelobt, denn er nicht erschreckt vor dem Schwert seines Gegners, während im Hause eines Autoverkäufer seine Ehrlichkeit und sein Humor hervorgehoben wird[151].

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[146] González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 421-422.

[147] Taboada Chivite, *Ritos galegos* (s. Anm. 106) 20; Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 577; Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 402.

[148] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 424.

[149] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 426.

[150] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 424.

[151] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 425.

Die Lieder differenzieren sich also, wie in Rumänien, nach Beruf, Geschlecht, Alter oder Eigenschaften des Gastgebers. Wir stellen fest, daß die Gattung noch lebendig ist, wenn sie es vermag, sich an die neuen sozialen Gegebenheiten in Spanien anzupassen (z. B. Autohändler). Unter den Liedern fallen auch einige Texte episch-historischen Charakters auf, die uns in der Folge noch beschäftigen werden.

Die religiösen Lieder stellen Themen des Neuen Testaments dar: die Geburt des Herrn, die Reise der Drei Weisen nach Bethlehem, die Flucht vor Herodes, der blinde Gärtner, der seine Sicht wiedererlangt, weil er dem Knaben Jesus Früchte anbot, um seinen Durst zu stillen; andere Texte wiederum berichten von dem Mirakel des guten und des bösen Säers, wobei ersterer sein Feld am nächsten Tag nach dem Säen abernten kann, während der Acker des zweiten nur Steine hervorbringt[152].

Es gibt dieselben Geschenke wie zu Weihnachten oder zu Neujahr. In *Tomonde (Pontevedra)* kommt einem alten Mann und einer alten Frau in geflickten Kleidern die Aufgabe zu, die Aufmerksamkeit der Hausbewohner auf irgend etwas zu lenken, damit eine Wurst oder ein Schinken für die Feier der Jugend entwendet werden kann[153].

KURZER TANZ IN GALICISCHEN HÄUSERN – *MUÑEIRA*

In Galicien veranstalten die Burschen in einigen Häusern auch einen kurzen Tanz *(muñeira)* und erst danach verlangen sie Geschenke.

DAS JUGENDFEST IN DER WEIHNACHTSZEIT – *GAITEIRADA DE REIS, MORADA* ODER *BROMA*

Solange die Burschenbünde das ganze Dorf durchlaufen und villancicos singen, sammeln sich die Mädchen aus *Carballedo* (Galicien) in einem bestimmten Haus, in dem *gaiteirada de reis*, d.h. die Feier zum Dreikönigstag, stattfinden wird. Sie bringen *harina de maíz de las espigas llamada reis* (Maismehl, das die „Könige" heißt) mit, aus dem sie *bollas en el horno* (eine Art Maiskuchen) backen. Außerdem werden Stockfisch, Kartoffeln und Wein gesammelt. In einigen Ortschaften der Gegend von *Santiago/La Coruña,* z. B. in *Carballedo* und *Pino*, nimmt an dem Fest lediglich der Männerbund teil; erst am nächsten Tag bietet die Jugend den älteren Personen Wein an. In Pino und Santa Comba (Santiago, Coruña) findet das Fest schon zu Weihnachten statt, zu dem die Freunde eingeladen werden[154]. In Cotobad, wo die Feier *morada* oder *broma* genannt wird,

[152] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 428-443.
[153] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 426.
[154] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 404, 406, 425, 427; González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 24.

laden die Mädchen und Burschen sogar die benachbarten Kirchengemeinden (Jugendliche wie Erwachsene) ein. Ihnen werden Brot und Wein sowie die Ehrenplätze angeboten, die von den Einheimischen nicht beansprucht werden können. Die Feier dauert bis gegen drei oder vier Uhr morgens und stellt eine Gelegenheit der Verbrüderung zwischen den Kirchengemeinden dar[155]. Mancherorts in der Region Madrid ist der alte Brauch einer starken Erneuerung ausgesetzt, indem solche Festessen in Restaurants stattfinden[156].

Gaiteirada de reis ist ein großes Fest angesehen und mit beachtlichen Eß- und Trinkexzessen verbunden. Die Forscher sprechen von „pantagruelischen Gelagen" und sogar von eigenartigen Kollektivorgien, welche am 5., 6. und 7. Januar in *La Mezquita* (Provinz *Orense*) stattfinden[157].

LYRISCH-EPISCHE LIEDER IM WEIHNACHTSLIEDREPERTOIRE IN SPANIEN UND PORTUGAL: *BALLADEN* BZW. *ROMANCES*

Der Terminus *Romance* bezeichnet in der spanischen und portugiesischen Fachterminologie das episch-lyrische Volkslied, das von der mitteleuropäischen Forschung *Ballade* genannt wird. Allerdings verwenden auch die anderen romanischen Sprachen eigene Termini: *complainte* oder *chanson à danser* im Französischen, *canzone epico-lirica* im Italienischen, *cântec bătrânesc* im Rumänischen. In früheren Zeiten fand er auch in diesen Sprachen seine Verwendung.

Im Unterschied zu den rumänischen Balladen, die meistens profanen Inhalts sind, behandeln die spanischen, portugiesischen, französischen und italienischen eine mehr oder weniger große Zahl von christlichen Themen. Es ist anzunehmen, daß einige davon in der Weihnachtszeit gesungen werden oder wurden. Doch wurde diese Funktion nur selten – wie z. B. in Portugal[158] – angemerkt. Wir werden uns hier nur auf diejenigen beziehen, deren Funktion als *„romances de Navidad"* oder *„en Nochebuena"* angegeben ist.

Wir wissen nicht, wie alt das Phänomen „Weihnachtsromanzen" auf der Iberischen Halbinsel ist. Das Wort *aguinaldo* erscheint schon in Romanzen des 16. Jh., die Frage wurde leider von Seiten der Forschung zu wenig beachtet. So finden wir lediglich per Zufall bemerkt, daß ein gewisser Text zu Weihnachten gesungen wurde. Auf die Arbeit von García Matos (1951), in der gezeigt wird, daß in der Region Madrid in der Weihnachtszeit profane Lieder gesungen werden, haben wir schon hingewiesen. Ähnliche Informationen liefert uns auch Antonio Murciano,

[155] Fraguas Fraguas (s. Anm. 106) 427-428; Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 582.
[156] González Casarrubios (s. Anm. 110) 24.
[157] Taboada Chivite, *La Navidad* (s. Anm. 106) 582; Taboada Chivite, *Ritos galegos* (s. Anm. 106) 33. Vgl. auch Vittorio Lanternari, *La grande festa. Storia del Capodanno nelle civiltà primitive.* Milano, 1959, 429-440.
[158] J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Romanceiro português.* II. Coimbra, 1960, 297-298, 310, 332.

der im Jahre 1972 eine Sammlung von Weihnachtsliedern aus dem andalusischen *Arcos de la Frontera* veröffentlicht hat. In der Einführung bedauert er, daß er aus Raummangel auf die Veröffentlichung einer Reihe von Strophen, Chansonetten, Liedern und Romanzen, die das Volk seit alten Zeiten zum Weihnachtsfest zu singen pflegt und die nicht das Thema der Geburt Christi behandeln, verzichten mußte. Weiter schreibt Murciano: Früher wurden diese Lieder in den Kirchen, heute werden sie in *zambombas* genannten Versammlungen in den Höfen der Häuser der Nachbarschaft gesungen. Viele von ihnen sind nicht nur profan, sondern weisen sogar einen ausgesprochen pikanten Ton voller Frische und Anmut auf[159]. Es ist zu bedauern, daß er nie die Gelegenheit gefunden hat, die gemeinten Texte zu publizieren.

Ein Jahrzehnt nach der Veröffentlichung der Sammlung Murciano haben Pedro M. Piñero und Virtudes Atero denselben Ort *Arcos de la Frontera* untersucht. Selbstverständlich sind Piñero und Atero dem Phänomen nachgegangen und haben uns sichere Informationen verschafft. Sie haben erlebt, daß in *Arcos* zu Weihnachten profane Volkslieder und Romanzen (*coplas, canciones profanas, tonadas y romances*) gesungen wurden. Das tun die *„zambombas"*, die um ein Feuer herum im Hof eines Hauses der Nachbarschaft oder in einem geräumigen Saal sitzen[160].

Was sind aber die *„zambombas"*? Dieser Terminus bezeichnet die Gruppe von *„amigos y vecinos que se reúnen a cantar en los dias navideños"*[161]. Gleichzeitig bezeichnet das im Spanischen und Portugiesischen das Lärminstrument, mit dem der Männergesang begleitet wird. In seiner Arbeit *O ciclo do Natal na literatura oral portuguesa* zeigte Afonso Duarte 1932, daß die *zambomba* in einigen Regionen Portugals, z.B. in Barrancos (Beja), gebräuchlich ist. Ihm ist außerdem bekannt, daß dasselbe Lärminstrument auch in Rumänien als Begleitung der Weihnachtslieder Verwendung findet. Der an Stiergebrüll mahnende Klang der *zambomba*, schreibt Duarte weiter, ist ein magischer Akt, der dazu bestimmt ist, das Kommen des Frühlings zu beschwören[162]. Dieses Instrument ist kein anderes,

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[159] Antonio Murciano, *Nochebuena en Arcos*. Arcos de la Frontera, 1972, 159: *„la serie deliciosa de coplas, letrillas, tonadas y romances que suele cantar el pueblo desde antiguo en estas fechas de Pascua - antes dentro de las iglesias en aquellas inefables añoradas «jornaditas», y hoy, en las reuniones llamadas «zambombas» en los patios de las casas de vecindad - pero no aluden al tema navideño, siendo muchas de ellas no sólo profanas, sino, incluso, de subido tono picante si llenas de frescura y gracia"*.

[160] Pedro M. Piñero/Virtudes Atero, *Romancerillo de Arcos de la Frontera*. Cádiz, 1986, 24: *„alrededor de una buena lumbre, en un patio de una casa de barrio o en una espaciosa sala"*.

[161] Piñero/Atero (s. Anm. 160) 22.

[162] Duarte (s. Anm. 107) 29, Anm. 1: *„o mesmo instrumento é que se usa na România no acompanhamento dos cantos do Ano-Novo"*. Die Schnurreibtrommel ist als archaisches Musikinstrument bekannt, dessen magische Funktion darin besteht, die bösen Geister zu vertreiben. Cf. Tiberiu Alexandru, *Instrumentele muzicale ale poporului român*. Bucureşti, 1956, 36-37; Curt Sachs, *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde*. Zweite durchgesehene Auflage. Leipzig, 1930, 116-117; Bálint Sárosi, *Die Volksmusikinstrumente Ungarns*. Leipzig, 1967, 27-29; Ludvík Kunz, *Die Volksmusikinstrumente der Tschechoslowakei*. Teil 1. Leipzig, 1974, 47-50.

als die Schnurreibtrommel, welche, wie erwähnt, in Italien *bufù* und in Rumänien *buhai* genannt wird.

Das Phänomen „Weihnachtsromanzen" wurde von Piñero und Atero sorgfältig in *Arcos de la Frontera* untersucht, indem sie die Frauengruppe, genannt *Zambomba de la Barriada de la Paz,* befragt und ihr Repertoire von Liedern aufgenommen haben. Es waren über 20 Texte, die dem Weihnachtsrepertoire angehören; davon haben sie neun Romanzen publiziert, die folgende Themen behandeln: der Bruder-Schwester-Inzest, die in der Ferne verheiratete Ehefrau, der entlassene Rekrut, der geheimgehaltene Tod, die Dame und der Weizenschnitter, der Maultiertreiber und die sieben Räuber, Cousin und Cousine auf Wallfahrt, sowie das Jesuskind am Tor und die Flucht aus Ägypten.

Die Frage, ob *Arcos de la Frontera* der einzige Ort in Andalusien ist, wo profane Lieder und Romanzen in der Weihnachtszeit gesungen werden, blieb nicht lange unbeantwortet. Denn in ihrer umfangreichen Liedersammlung aus der Region Cádiz belegte Virtudes Atero Burgos[163] das Phänomen in weiteren andalusischen Orten wie *Jeréz de la Frontera, Campo de Gibraltar, Algeciras* und *Tarifa.* Virtudes Atero Burgos zeigt, daß in diesen Orten die Romanzen einen wesentlichen Teil des Repertoires der Weihnachtsfeiertage darstellen. Die Autorin scheint von den Ausmaßen dieses Phänomens überrascht gewesen zu sein. Sie schreibt, daß, entgegen den Erwartungen, zu Weihnachten nicht nur religiöse Romanzen, sondern in einer noch größeren Anzahl, profane Romanzen, vor allem erotische und pikareske, gesungen werden. Es scheint nicht unangebracht zu sein – schreibt sie weiter – Romanzen wie *La adúltera del cebollero* (Der Ehebruch mit dem Zwiebelhändler), *El cura enfermo* (Der kranke Priester) oder *La patrona y el militar* (Die Gastgeberin und der Soldat) zu singen, um die Ankunft des Gottessohnes zu feiern[164].

Eine vor kurzem von Pedro Piñero und anderen publizierten Sammlung aus der benachbarten Region Huelva berichtet über dasselbe Phänomen: In Encinasola werden zu Weihnachten sowohl religiöse *villancicos*, als auch „lyrische Lieder", die keinerlei Beziehung zum religiösen Fest aufweisen, gesungen[165]. In letzter Zeit wurde auch die Romanze *La Blanca Niña* (Die ehebrecherische Frau, die von ihrem Ehemann ertappt und mit dem Tode bestraft wurde) in der Funktion eines Weihnachtsliedes in *Antequera (Málaga)* belegt[166].

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[163] Virtudes Atero Burgos, *Romancero de la Provincia de Cádiz*. Cádiz 1996; eine allgemeine Darstellung der Frage in Spanien und Rumänien ist in Taloş, *Balladen zu Weihnachten...* (s. Anm. 21), 229-233 zu lesen.

[164] Atero Burgos (s. Anm. 163) 47: *„en contra de lo que pudiera pensarse, no se cantan aquí sólo romances religiosos sino, y en número mucho mayor, romances profanos y, sobre todo, eróticos y picarescos. La fiesta hace que no resulte irreverente entonar «La adúltera del cebollero», «El cura enfermo» o «La patrona y el militar» para festejar la llegada del Niño Dios".*

[165] Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez/Antonio José Pérez Castellano/José Pedro López Sánchez/ Enrique Baltanás/Manuel Fernández Gamero, *Romancero de la Provincia de Huelva*. Huelva, 2004, 50.

[166] Francisco López Estrada, *El romance de La Blanca Niña en la poesía oral de Antequera.* In: Pedro M. Piñero/Enrique Baltanás/Antonio J. Pérez Castellano (eds.), *Romances y canciones en la tradición andaluza.* [Sevilla] , 1999, 69.

In früheren Sammlungen können ebenfalls wenn auch nur zufällige Bemerkungen über Romanzen zu Weihnachten gefunden werden. Es geht um das Textkorpus *La dama y el pastor*, in dem gezeigt wird, daß die bekannte Romanze in *Herrera del Duque* und *Campanario (Badajoz)*[167] zu *Nochebuena* gesungen wird. In der *Extremadura* ist eine weitere Schäferromanze bekannt, *La loba parda* (Die graue Wölfin), die *„sobre todo en Nochebuena"* gesungen wird[168]; auch in *Bohoyo (Ávila)* sowie in *Honrubia de la Cuesta* und *Riaza (Segovia),* in *Villarrobledo (Albacete)* sowie unter den Hirten aus *Extremadura* hatte der Text dieselbe Funktion[169].

Wir erwähnten oben die Romanze *La muerte del maestre de Santiago*[170]. Sie beginnt mit dem Motiv des *aguinaldo*, genauer gesagt, die Jugend besucht den König und fordert von ihm verschiedene, bescheidene Geschenke, hingegen fordert Doña María nicht weniger als den Kopf des Maestre de Santiago. Dieser war der Bruder des Königs Pedro el Cruel und hat Doña María, dessen Geliebte, beleidigt. Als Rache verlangt sie seinen Kopf als „Weihnachtsgeschenk". Auch wenn die Forderung äußerst ungewöhnlich ausfällt, bleibt dies das beste Beispiel einer Weihnachtsromanze. Sie ist in Nordspanien *(Logroño, Segovia, Zamora, León, Lugo, Oviedo)* verbreitet.

Das Aguinaldo-Motiv enthält auch die Romanze *La merienda del moro Zaide*[171], die ebenfalls im Norden *(Pontevedra, Lugo, Oviedo, Santander* und *Palencia)* belegt wurde.

Wie gesehen ist das Phänomen „Weihnachtsromanzen" in mehreren Regionen Spaniens verbreitet, d.h. im Süden und Westen (*Andalusien, Extremadura*), aber auch im Norden *(Santander, Palencia, Oviedo, Pontevedra, Salamanca),* was für ein beträchtliches Alter des Phänomens spricht.

SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

Die obigen Ausführungen haben gezeigt, daß die Weihnachtszeit bei allen romanischen Völkern nach demselben Schema gefeiert wird:

1. die Jugend organisiert sich in kleinen Gruppen – die wichtigste Rolle spielen dabei die Männerbünde – und gehen von Haus zu Haus; sie fragen, ob es

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[167] Diego Catalán et al., *La dama y el pastor. Romance. Villancico. Glosas*. II. Madrid, 1977-1978, 16, 48, 49.

[168] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Flor nueva de romances viejos*. Madrid, 1988, 248-249.

[169] Antonio Sánchez Romeralo/Ana Valenciano, *Romancero rústico*. Madrid, 1978, 83, 129, 131-132, 193, 202.

[170] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero Hispánico (Hispano-potugués, americano y sefardí). Teoría e historia*. Tomo II. Madrid, 1968, 383-385; Diego Catalán et al., *El romancero panhispánico. Catálogo general descriptivo*. 2. Madrid, 1982, 221-233, siehe insbesondere S. 227; Diego Catalán, *Siete siglos de romancero (Historia y poesía)*. Madrid, 1969, 86-99.

[171] Catalán, *El romancero* (s. Anm. 170) 269-276; Catalán, *Siete siglos* (s. Anm. 170) 86-99; vgl. auch Fernando Gomarín Guirado, *Romancerillo Cántabro*. Santander, 1997, 11-12.

ihnen gestatten wird, ein Lied zugunsten der Hausbewohner zu singen; das Hausoberhaupt wird dabei für sein Haus, seine Familie und seinen Wohlstand, der Sohn für seine Tapferkeit, die Tochter für ihre Schönheit gelobt; nach dem Lied bringt der Männerbund Gesundheits- und Wohlstandswünsche für das nächste Jahr und fordert Geschenke;

2. die vorgetragenen Lieder sind profanen oder christlichen Inhalts und können je nach der Lage der Gastgeber fröhlich oder traurig sein; in der Liedauswahl spielt oft das Alter und der Beruf des Hausbesitzers eine Rolle;

3. wenn der Männerbund in einem Haus nicht empfangen wird, wenn ihm gar keine Geschenke angeboten werden oder die Männer mit den erhaltenen Geschenken nicht zufrieden sind, werden das Haus und seine Bewohner von ihnen verwünscht (sie sollen von Läusen und Mäusen befallen werden, sie sollen arm werden oder erkranken, sterben etc.); darüber hinaus können sie sich rächen und dem Hausbesitzer Schaden zufügen, ohne daß sie dafür von der Gemeinschaft verurteilt werden;

4. mit den erhaltenen Geschenken (Naturalien und Geld) macht die Jugend eine Feier, zu der die ganze Gemeinschaft oder nur die Mädchen und ihre Eltern eingeladen werden; es finden kulinarische Exzesse statt;

5. die Burschen tragen die Schnurreibtrommel mit, die durch ihren Ton das Gebrüll des Stiers imitiert und das Frühjahr heraufbeschwört;

6. vielerorts tanzen die Burschen nach dem Gesang mit allen weiblichen Familienmitgliedern, was auf einen Fruchtbarkeitsritus hindeutet.

Die beobachteten Gemeinsamkeiten in den Traditionen aller romanischen Völker legen die Vermutung nahe, daß wir es hier mit einem römischen Erbe zu tun haben. Es ist ersichtlich, dass eine historisch orientierte Erforschung der Volksliteratur und Volksbräuche in der Romania eine willkommene Ergänzung der herkömmlichen Forschungsbereiche der Romanistik darstellen kann.

CULTURE TRADITIONNELLE ET CONSTRUCTION IDENTITAIRE EN ROUMANIE AUJOURD'HUI. NOTES EN MARGE D'UN PROJET DE RECHERCHE[1]

RODICA ZANE

Le phénomène de migration de travail est devenu visible à présent pour tout le monde en Roumanie. En même temps, il n'est pas encore un sujet „officiel", qui préoccupe visiblement les institutions. Mais les circuits de la culture orale et des médias le privilégient. Une grande partie des travailleurs migrants provient du monde rurale comme main-d'œuvre non qualifiée. Il suffit de visiter un village roumain, où au moins une famille a émigré au travail et on apprend tout de suite beaucoup de choses.

Depuis quelques années, mes visites dans un village près de Câmpulung Muscel sont devenues des occasions d'observer ce phénomène. Ainsi j'ai décidé d'organiser une archive des histoires orales de migrations.

La littérature sociologique roumaine développe le thème avec ses méthodes, qualifiées comme «quantitatives et qualitatives».[2] Le Département d'Ethnologie et de Folklore de la Faculté des Lettres, intéressé à l'aspect «qualitatif» du phénomène, a ouvert un terrain au sujet des narrations sur ce thème et les premiers résultats ont été publiés en 2006. Dans le volume collectif *Povestiri din prezent...*,[3] le chapitre V, *Sate contemporane din Muscel, centre de emigrare la muncă* [Villages contemporaines de Muscel, centres d'émigration au travail] contient les contributions de l'équipe de recherche que j'ai coordonnée pendant deux ans (entre

[1] Il s'agit du projet de recherche «Les narrations contemporaines – partie intégrante du patrimoine immateriel roumain», financé par C.N.C.S.I.S. (Conseil National de la Recherche Scientifique de l'Enseignement Supérieur), le contrat no. 1157, deroulé entre 2004 et 2005, coordonateur du projet: Narcisa Stiuca. Une des équipes participantes, formée d'étudiants (licence et master) et coordonnée par la sousignée, a focalisé son attention sur le phénomène de la migration et les narrations qui concernent ce phénomène.

[2] Study for Multicultural Center Prague, November 2004, *A Country Report on Romanian Migration Abroad: Stocks and Flows After 1989*, Dumitru Sandu, Cosmin Radu, Monica Constantinescu, Oana Ciobanu.

[3] *Povestiri din prezent. Studii şi note asupra naraţiunilor şi a narativităţii contemporane* [Récits du présent. Études et notes sur la narration et la narrativité contemporaine], coord. Narcisa Ştiucă, Bucureşti, Editura Etnologică, 2006.

2004 et 2005), principalement dans le village Bughea de Sus (le village este devenu entre temps commune) du département Argeş.

Mon intention est de focaliser le thème du *retour* que j'ai identifié comme organisateur du discours et même d'un discours identitaire également des émigrés et de ceux qui y sont restés. De même, le *retour* joue un rôle complexe en ce qui concerne l'appropriation («domestication») de l'expérience de l'émigré.

Le retour représente un critère de classification utilisé par les spécialistes pour distinguer plusieurs types de migration: on parle de migration permanente et migration provisoire (Guilmoto et Sandron, *Migration et développement*, 2003). Le deuxième type, la migration provisoire, appellée aussi migration économique, est le résultat des déplacements dans le but de travailler à l'étranger.

Ce type de migration provoque, en Roumanie, les premières manifestations de changement identitaire déterminées par la confrontation entre les différentes identités : individuelles et collectives. Généralement et actuellement, «l'identité» fait référence à un processus, à une configuration dynamique, susceptible de connaître des changements, des évolutions et des inversions (Férreol et Jucquois [2003] 2005: 328). Au niveau de l'UE, le rapport entre l'identité nationale et l'identité européenne se présente comme variable, complexe et difficilement à gestioner avec l'appareil conceptuel actuel, apprécient les specialistes (Duchesne 2005: 1). Le phénomène s'explique «par la pluralité des processus en jeu dans l'interaction entre identification à l'Europe et à la nation, processus qui génèrent entre ces deux identifications des relations contradictoires». C'est pour cela que «Nous proposons donc d'observer empiriquement les attitudes des citoyens à l'égard de l'Europe à l'aide du concept d'identification européenne, lequel serait défini comme le processus de développement d'un sentiment à la communauté politique mise en œuvre dans le cadre de l'intégration européenne» (*idem* : 7). Les attitudes sont déduites des indicateurs d'attachement à l'Europe et à la nation et des leurs relations complexes.

En considérant la migration provisoire un exercice important dans le but de l'intégration, j'ai étudié les attitudes identitaires d'une famille roumaine pendant quelques années (depuis 2003), par l'intermediaire de leurs narrations concernant l'expérience de migration (*cf.* le concepte de Paul Ricoeur sur l'identité narrative, 1990: 175).

La famille qui anime mon étude de cas habite un village (Bughea de Sus) près d'un ex-centre industriel important, les usines ARO Câmpulung. I. et. M. n'avaient pas atteint leur trentaine d'années lorsqu'ils ont décidé d'émigrer (2000). Le chômage local menaçait I., qui travaillait à l'usine, pendant que M., sa femme, infirmière qualifiée, n'avait pas trouvé un emploi, mieux dit, considérait que le prix «noir» pour l'obtenir (environ 1000 euro) est trop cher. La décision de cette famille d'émigrer confirme la 7[e] lois de Ernest George Ravenstein [1885] («La raison principale des flux migratoires est le désir de l'homme d'améliorer son statut sur le plan matériel»), mais cet énonce n'est pas suffisant pour comprendre cette catégorie des migrants.

Apparent, rien ne manque à I. et. M. Ils sont les propriétaires d'une maison à deux niveaux que le père de I. a fait bâtir pour le nouveau couple avant leur mariage, il y a 6 ans; la maison est complètement et à neuf meublée; la cuisine est équipée aux appareils électroménagers de marque neufs; I. s'est fait acheté un an avant d'émigrer une voiture Dacia 1300 presque neuve.

Alors quel est le(s) motif(s) profond(s) de leur décision? Pour l'apprendre et le comprendre j'ai beaucoup parlé avec eux, mais surtout j'ai participé d'une certaine manière à leur vie, je suis devenue l'une de leurs proches et souvent d'une observation directe j'ai passé à une observation participative : je leur ai acheté les billets aller/retour pour le premier chemin en Italie, je les ai accompagnés au bus, je les ai attendus à l'aéroport après ... trois ans etc.

Le motif vu de plus près tient d'un mental de type traditionnel, qui associe les jeunes aux épreuves de consacration. I. et M. ont tout reçu, mais «nous ne pouvons pas demander l'aide de nos parents toute la vie. Et ici on est mort, on ne peut rien entreprendre, rien réussir...». Mais derrière leur mots on décèle aussi les traces d'une manière de penser actuelle, urbaine, de consommation : «c'est pour rien que j'ai tout si je n'ai pas l'argent pour acheter quelque chose pour ma fille», disait souvent I.

Le discours de motivation de I. parait celui d'un jeune indépendant, mais il n'était qu'un discours encouragé et confirmé par son père, lui-même ancien émigré avant 1989 (technicien automobiles, N. avait été envoyé en Colombie chez les usines ARO là-bas et il y est resté en 1987, en s'achetant un atelier de réparations; sa famille n'a rien su sur lui et n'a pu le contacter qu'après 1989 et en 1994 son épouse est partie en Colombie pour le convaincre de rentrer, ce qu'il a fait en 1996). Ceci dit, la situation de I. semble un cas particulier, avec une histoire de famille peu commune (l'expérience de migrant de son père) et, par conséquent, assez atypique. Mais le cas de I. est, en même temps, un cas typique de structuration, définition, redéfinition, négociation de l'identité dans le contexte contemporain. Le rapport de l'individu avec les modèles identitaires des groups auxquels il participe n'est pas toujours transparent, c'est pour ceci que les traces qu'il laisse doivent être recherchées avec beaucoup d'attention. Le trajet de migration est particulièrement influencé par le processus de construction identitaire de l'individu. Après l'analyse des voix qui participent à l'histoire de la famille O., je considère que la décision que I. et M. ont prise, d'aller pour travailler en Italie, s'explique dans un double contexte : celui qui est visible, de nature sociale et économique, et l'autre, invisible, de nature psychosociale et culturelle.

Mais le départ pour l'Italie a été dès le début conçu comme une route en double sens : aller-retour. On peut apprécier que la formule de voyage aller-retour n'est pas seulement une représentation spatiale de la migration de travail, mais aussi l'emblème d'une identité de type traditionnel.

I. et M. sont rentrés chez eux cet été, après trois ans de travail en Italie. Mais leur retour a été préfacée par une variante symbolique déroulée pendant les trois

ans : le chemin de l'Italie en Roumanie des objets «pour la maison» achetés avec l'argent gagné. Un inventaire de ces objets en 2005 montre la similitude avec la «liste dotale» de la grand-mère de I: objets ménagers, vêtements, lingerie. Les investissements de la famille O. ne tiennent pas devant une analyse pratique: un monde d'objets attend en Roumanie d'être mis en service. Dans l'absence de leurs maîtres, ces objets sont bien soignés. La mère de I. tâche de bien les préserver: les aère et ferme la maison à clef tous les jours. Mais en même temps, le contact visuel avec ces objets, chacun à sa place dans la maison, la rassure: les enfants seront de retour et ils auront du succès. La signification symbolique de ces objets dépasse leur valeur pratique. «Les objets dessinent autour de nous des cercles concentriques qui constituent les enveloppes de l'identité de chacun» (Tisseron 1999: 218).

I., M. et leur fille, D., vivent là-bas, en Italie, dans un appartement loué, avec une autre famille, alors que leur maison en Roumanie, meublée et équipée de tout le nécessaire, reste vide. L'examen d'une logique pratique écarte la stratégie d'investissements de la famille O. L'habitant d'une ville est aussi bouleversé s'il apprend l'histoire de la famille O., deroulée cet été dans leur village natal en Roumanie: ils ont passé la plupart des deux mois qu'ils y sont restés (leur «congé») pour aménager la canalisation de leur maison et de celle parentale. I. a appliqué ce qu'il a vu et a appris en Italie.

Le coût de ces utilités (la canalisation des deux maisons) est élevé, mais il est réduit à la moitié par la participation de la famille. Mais la raison de ce chantier n'est pas seulement une amélioration des conditions de vie à l'occidentale. En ouvrant et en dirigent ce chantier de famille, I. a montré aux vosins et à tout le village la réussite de son départ. On peut dire que le chantier autour de la maison des O. est devenu une scène sur laquelle on a « représenté » la distance entre ceux qui sont partis et ceux qui sont restés. Parmi les objets apportés le long des années depuis l'Italie–Milan en Roumanie–Bughea de Sus, il y a aussi des outils dernier cri pour les constructions, que je n'avais pas vue jusqu'alors. Le prestige de I. a augmenté et s'est consolidé dans le territoire agonal de l'habitation. Tous ceux qui sont partis de Bughea de Sus au travail à l'étranger communiquent et partagent leur expérience avec un code particulier, le code de l'habitation. Quand tout va bien à l'étranger, les gens ajoutent, remplacent, améliorent quelque chose dans leur propre maison.

Les recherches de la migration signalent comme récurrent le phénomène et le thème de la transnationalité. «Les processus de va-et-vient, la circulation des migrants et la construction de réseaux transnationaux, ont obligé les chercheurs à revoir le rapport entre temps et espace, culture et vie sociale et identités et territoires. Il devient de plus en plus facile pour ces migrants de transposer ou de s'inspirer de certaines pratiques culturelles pour les réintroduire dans le milieu où ils vivent le plus souvent. La transnationalité des migrants fait du pays d'origine un pôle de référence identitaire, celui où l'on revient fréquemment et où on vit les temps forts de la sociabilité, sinon un lieu magnifié, même plusieurs générations après la migration» (Hily et Meintel 2000: 7-8).

Les discussions que j'ai eues cet été (2006) avec I. et M. ont changé le sens de mes observations. Ayant participé un an avant (2005) à l'envoi des paquets qui partaient par des intermédiaires depuis Bughea de Sus vers Milan, je me suis rendu compte, à la suite des discussions avec les parents de I., d'un vrai scénario culinaire du retour chez soi : tous les jours, lorsqu'il rentre, épuisé de travail, I. mange un peu de fromage de maison et boit un verre d'alcool fort de la même source. Il s'agit donc d'un repas rituel où on sert de la nourriture de chez soi. Un geste répété qui contribue à l'équilibre de ce que les spécialistes appellent un «choc culturel» (Grawitz 1981: 53). Mais, selon l'ambivalence attribuée au choc culturel, ceci a aussi des conséquences favorables: «nous pousse à réfléchir et à nous autoévaluer et, en ce sens, offre une occasion unique d'apprendre. Il nous oblige à réévaluer nos relations personnelles, à envisager de nouvelles attitudes et comportements.»

I. et M. sont devenus beaucoup plus critiques à l'égard du monde qu'ils ont quitté. Dès le premier moment de leur retour ils ont observé et critiqué la saleté de Bucarest, les prix élevés, l'attitude incorrecte aux plusieurs niveaux. Avec un aspect occidental évident, I. et M. observaient, dénonçaient et sanctionnaient rapidement la manière à la Roumaine de travailler à la hâte. C'est pour ça que je craignais leur réaction en regagnant la région «paysanne» d'origine. Mais leur discours est devenu plus « doux » de façon inattendue, sans toutefois perdre son noyau critique. J'ai reconnu la reconfiguration des repères identitaires, depuis le grand groupe, ethnique, des roumains, au petit groupe, local, de la famille. Par ailleurs, la carte de la Roumanie profonde de I. et M. se réduit à deux localités, celles d'origine de leurs familles.

De même, tous les deux ont un discours de délimitation à l'égard de l'autre grand groupe avec lequel ils sont en contact, «les Italiens», déterminé par un vrai malaise identitaire. La raison de cette attitude est le comportement de celui qui avait employé I., le payant «au noir» avec beaucoup de retard. Avant de partir pour rentrer chez soi, en Roumanie, I. lui avait demandé à plusieurs reprises de payer tout le montant qu'il lui devait, 10 000 euro, représentant les droits de rémunération entre début 2006 et juin le même année. Ceci n'est pas arrivé que quelques jours avant le départ pour la Roumanie, ainsi I. n'a plus demandé l'argent pour le mois en cours. D'un autre côté, la perspective de ne pas pouvoir aller en Italie, parce qu'à la douanne italienne on a mis un petit «chiffre» sur le passeport – *sps* (*senza permiso di soggiorno*) – les a poussés à trouver une solution ingénieuse : ils ont changé leurs passeports, en les déclarant perdus.

Tous ces détails montrent le syncrétisme des fonctions et le rôle ordonnateur que le *retour* a dans les stratégies identitaires de la famille O., mais aussi la capacité de cette action, projétée dans l'avenir lointain, de désamorcer les tensions d'une expérience difficile, notamment la migration de travail. Sur l'imminent retour et son importance compensatrice a parlé à sa manière la fille de I., D., âgée de 4 ans et demi, qui a dit à ses grands-parents avant de partir de nouveau en Italie avec ses parents: «Grand-maman et grand-papa, je sais que vous êtes vieux et que

vous allez bientôt mourir, mais tâchez de fermer la porte à clef chez moi et chez vous, parce-que toutes ces choses m'appartiennent».

La famille O. peut représenter un type de dynamique identitaire roumaine dans la perspective de l'intégration européenne, dynamique favorisée par l'experience de migration. Malgré son statut incertain dans le pays d'accueil, pays ressentit comme *pars pro toto* (c'est à dire pour l'Union Européene), cette famille réexamine les repères de son identité nationale, évalue et apprécie les avantages d'une communauté politique démocratique comme L'Union Européenne, reformule d'une manière critique ses rapports avec les groupes d'appartenance (locale et nationale), reconsidère ses relations avec la culture d'origine.

Cet étude de cas propose une réflexion sur le thème des changements du discours identitaire roumain ou, plutôt, du discours identitaire des roumains dans le contexte de la pluralité des processus en jeu dans l'interaction entre les diverses identités activées au cours de l'experience de migration.

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ISTRO-ROMANIAN CULTURAL MINORITY TODAY

ARMAND GUȚĂ

HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL ISSUES OF THE ISTRO-ROMANIAN CULTURAL MINORITY

The Istro-Romanian dialect is one of the three South-Danubian Romanian dialects, split off from the trunk of Common-Romanian about 700 years ago. Today, it is spoken by a very limited number of people in the Istria peninsula, namely, Croatia-Jeiăn (Žejane), located in North-West of the town of Rijeka and of Mount Učka (Monte Maggiore) in the region called Čičarija, and in Sušnjevica, south of Učka, as well as in several poorly populated hamlets near Susnievița (Noselo/Nova Vas, Sucodru/Jesenovik, Letai/Letaj, Brdo, Cosrtârčean, Dolinščina, Zancovč, Perasi, Brig), along the valley of the Raša river (Val 'DArsa).[1] Even the contemporary names of the two above mentioned subregions and of some villages argue for their Istro-Romanin origins.

In the Middle Ages and the Modern times, Istro-Romanians were named *cici* or *cirebiri* by Slavic and Italian populations that surrounded them, whereas Istro-Romanians defined themselves as *rumeri* (lat. romanus). Still preserving their ethnic consciousness, they consider themselves *Romanians*, and even when they speak in Croatian language with Croatians and other foreigners, Istro-Romanians say, with self-confidence, *we are rumeri*. This applied not only in the past,[2] but it also is valid today.

Silviu Dragomir, who in the 1920s studied several Bosniac, Croatian, Dalmatian and Venetian historical sources from the 11th to 15th century – in which numerous mentions about the existence of the Balcanic Vlachs in these regions appeared – identified some of those peoples as Istroromanians. He also wrote aboute their specific occupations, such as salt transportation, trading, and mercenaries.[3] From a historical and ethnological perspective, the Istro-Romanians in the Istrian Peninsula

[1] Richard Sârbu, Vasile Frățilă, *Dialectul istroromân*, Timişoara, Amarcord, 1998, p. 35

[2] Irineo della Croce, *Historia antica e moderna, sacra e profana della città di Trieste*, Venezia, 1698, p. 334.

[3] Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii şi morlacii. Studiu asupra românismului balcanic* [Vlachs and Morlachs: Essay on the Balkanic Romanianness], Bucureşti, 1924, and *Originea coloniilor române din Istria* [Origins of the Romanian Colonies in Istria], Bucureşti, 1927, p. 201-220.

REF/JEF, *1*, p. 85–101, Bucureşti, 2007

is an archaic nucleus way before they had ever been mentioned in written documents. This is based on a scientific conclusion, because those Vlachs were a pastoral population (sheep and cattle breeding). The Istro-Romanians identity in the provinces occupied by Venice more than 1000 years (The Ragusa Republic-Mletačka Republika-Dubrovnik, Spalato, Zara), then under Habsburg Empire and then under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, has been grinded by many factors. To the old Venetians, Vlachs were just tolerated (considering them savage and violent), the Orthodox denomination was seen as an unacceptable alterity, the Catholic authority was powerful and the Propaganda de Bona Fide had an active role in western Balkans. The Counter-Reformation campaigns in the 16th century let to the forceful convert of all these Orthodox peoples, i.e. the entire Istro-Romanian populations, to Roman-Catholicism. In *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatie, Dalmatie et Slovenie* (a collection of 14th-15th centuries documents), many localities in which Istro-Romanians communities have lived are mentioned, especially villages near cities like Rijeka (Fiume), Spalato (Split), Zara (Zadar) from Dalmatia and Istria peninsula[4] (see the *Codex...*). They are called Morlachos, Maurovlachos, Morlacchi, Uskoci, Cici – whom, in accordance to the 19th century taxonomy are Istro-Romanians. The fact that those Istro-Romanians are not mentioned in former periods of time does not mean that they did not exist as archaic nuclei. The omission can be explained not only by the lack of documentary sources but also by the (miss) interpretation of some historians. One century after the Croatian, Dalmatian, and Slovenian sources, Italian (Venetian) documents (*Acta et diplomatica Ragusina*) put forth new information.[5] They confirm the places in the Istrian Peninsula, Čičarjia region in Croatia, where the Istro-Romanian communities lived (and still live), as well as the ethnic identities of the same medieval Istro-Romanians. These are done constantly from the 16th century on (see *Acta et diplomatica Ragusina*). When publishing these Italian documents, Croatian historians assumed that these villages dated to the 15th century, inhabited by both Romanics and Croatians, each ethnicity having its own occupation and religion. Beginning with 1910, statistics reffering to Istro-Romanian populaces are contradictory. Fluctuations were determined by the politic climate and by the authorities ordering them, i.e., by political intrusion. In Autro-Ungarian official papers, such as *Spezial Repertorium der Osterreichschen Landen, Osterreich Istria*, 3.350 Istroromanians are indicated, number repeated by Zvonimir Dugački in *Ježicna karta Istre*, published in 1945.[6] Through, the statistic maps here prove the existence of a greater number, from 3.350 to 11.000, of Istro-Romanians.[7] In

[4] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatie, Dalmatie et Slovenie* vol. XII, Zagrebačka Tiskara, 1914, p. 373-375.

[5] *Acta et diplomatica Ragusina* vol. II, tom 1, 1935, Beograd, p.16-19.

[6] *Spezial Repertorium der Österreichschen Landen, Österreich Istria und Illirisches Küstenland*, 1910/1918, Wienn, p. 23-35.

[7] Z. Dugački, *Ježicna karta Istre* [The Map of Languages in Istria], Zagreb, Hrvatska Državna Tiskara, 1945, p. 316.

another demographic study published in 1946, by Adriatic Institute from Sušak, the authors write about 13.500 speakers of a very different language (idiom) from Croatian, Slovenian, German and Italian.[8] In 1936 Vjekoslav Bratulijč, has published a book about the last eleven demographic fieldresearch done in Istria, between 1846 and 1936 (in 1846, 1851, 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1919, 1921, 1931, 1936) by the Habsburg and Italian authorities.[9] Here he confirmed the above mentioned figures. In 1966, following a linguistic and statistic survey in two villages from Istrian Peninsula, done by August Kovačec, the existence of 1500 Istro-Romanians was confirmed.[10] The demographic statistics made in 1989 in former Yugoslavia mentioned the existence of a number of 1.500 to 6.000 Istro-Romanians living in Čičarija on South-West of Učka montains and in the northern part of Rijeka in Istrian peninsula. It is obvious that the number of Istro-Romanians in Croatia is decreasing. The linguistic research led by Romanian scholars in 1982, 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1996 documented this decrease (in Žejane are today 102 houses, about 400 speakers).[11] Certainly those speaking Istro-Romanian nowadays are less than twenty years ago, because most of them emigrated in Australia, Italia, USA. In accordance to the latest census from (2000), approximately 1.500 individuals in Croatia have declared that they speak Istro-Romanian as a family language.[12] Yet, many of them claimed Croatian as their origin, reason why, in the end, the formal report of the Croatian authorities accounted Istro-Romanians to only 600.[13] In Žejane, Istro-Romanian is the language of the entire village.[14]

In 1999 I heard from a friend, a Serbian citizen, a very interesting story. She told me that between 1975 and 1990, when she was a child and even adult, she use to go together with her brother in Dalmatia on summer holidays, living in two old houses in Dubrovnik and Split. The house owners were two very old ladies who spoke between them, on telephone or when they met, every year on August, a strange and different language from Italian, Croatian and other Slavic dialects. My friend told me that she thought that this spoken language was Istro-Romanian. How, these two old ladies lived there over 600 km away from their origin place had remain a mystery for my friend and me.[15]

Opinions about Istro-Romanian origins are very controversed, because the present linguistic theories can not offer precise explanations on several aspects of

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[8] *Cadastre nationale de l'Istrie*, Sušak, Croatia, p. 548-590.

[9] Vjekoslav Bratulijč, *O nekim opcim i posebni problemima etničkog sastava Istre u prošlosti* [On a Special Matter of Public Interest Related to Istria's Ethnic Components], Zagreb, 1936, p. 33-39.

[10] August Kovačec, *Dialectology*, 1962-65.

[11] Richard Sârbu, Vasile Frăţilă, *Dialectul istroromân*, Timişoara, Amarcord, 1998, p. 36.

[12] Idem, p.36.

[13] Hrvatska Državna Demografička Statistika [Demographic Statistics of Croatia], 2000.

[14] August Kovačec, *Dialectology*, 1962-65, p.195.

[15] Maria Vanku, 1999, Beograd.

this dialect.[16] Several contemporary researchers consider plausible the posibility of linguistic and ethnic multilayered origins of today's Istro-Romanians population.[17]

"In spite of strong and persistent influences coming upon during centuries from the Croatian, Slovenian and Italian languages, Istro-Romanian, particularity the variant spoken in Žejane (Jeiăn), has relatively well preserved its basic structure in phonetics and morpho-syntax. Istro-Romanian is among the few cases in which an idiom, spoken in an alloglot milieu by a small number of people who did not, for centuries, have – and do not have today either – any kind of cultural institution of their own, an institution that could facilitate its preservation as a means of interhuman communication, has lasted to our days. Due to historical circumstances, almost always unpropitious, Istro-Romanians had neither permanent schools, nor a church speaking their language, nor notable cultural and literary traditions, as Macedo-Romanians did. In spite of all this, they have survived as a *linguistic island*."[18] As compared to the idiom of the Southern Istro-Romanians, who inhabit several villages and hamlets south of mount Učka

[16] Richard Sârbu, Vasile Frăţilă, *Dialectul istroromân*, Timişoara, Amarcord, 1998, p.13. Here, Sextil Puşcariu's opinions are quoted, considering that Istro-Romanian are one of the old inhabitants of the north-western region of the Balcanic Peninsula. After Ovid Densusianu the Istro-Romanian dialect is an old Daco-Romanian idiom spoken by the colonists originary from Banat and Transilvania. His theory has been developed by Iosif Popovici who discovered two separate layers of Istro-Romanians ancestors: the first one is from the 10-13th centuries and it was represented by the Romanian population from Banat, Valahia and Meglenia (today a region in Macedonia-Fyrom and Greece); the second one from 14-15th centuries is represented by the Macedo-Romanian (Aromanian) population spreaded in the Balkanic Peninsula. Between 1909 and 1998 were published several linguistic studies: monographs by Iosif Popovici: [Romanian Dialects from Istria], vol I, Halle, a. d. Saale, 1914; vol. II, 1909; by Sextil Puşcariu together with A. Belulovici, M. Bartoli şi A. Byhan, *Studii istroromâne*; [Istro-Romanian Studies] vol. I, 1906; vol II 1926; vol. III, 1929; E. Petrovici şi P. Neiescu: *Persistenţa insulelor lingvistice. Constatări făcute cu ocazia unor anchete dialecticale la istroromâni, meglenoromâni şi aromâni* [Persistence of Linguistic Islands: Some Opinions about Some Dialectical Research Studies done on Istro-Romanians, Megleno-Romanians and Aromanians], în CL, IX, 1964, nr. 2, p.196.

[17] Ibidem, p.15. The wellknown Croatian linguist August Kovačec wrote that Istro-Romanians are direct heirs of the old Romanic Balcanic population in *Descrierea istroromânei actuale* [The Description of Today's Istro-Romanian Dialect], Bucureşti, 1971; in 1928, Leca Morariu publishes two books: *Lu Fraţi Noştri* [To Our Brothers] and *Libru lu Rumeri din Istrie* [Book on the Rumeri from Istria]; and between 1929-1934 the third one appears: *De-ale Cirebirilor* [Of the Cirebiris'], with dialectical texts from Suşnievița, vol. I from Brdo, Sucodru and Grobnic, vol. II from Jeiăn, vol. III, and *Scrisori istroromâne din Jeiăn şi Şuşnievița* [Istro-Romanian Letters from Jeiăn and Şeşnievița], vol IV. In the same time, Simion Pop doing research for the Romanian Linguistic Atlas, vol.I, *Atlasul Lingvistic Român* (ALR I) [Romanian Linguistic Atlas] in hamlet Brdo from Valdarsa, and Ştefan Paşca, and for the second volume of the Romanian Linguistic Atlas, vol. II (Atlasul Lingvistic Român/ALR II), in village Jeiăn. In 1960, Ugo Pellis, one of the authors of the *Italian Linguistic Atlas* (ALI), investigates the same area like the Romanian authors of ALR vol. I, II. There is reserch material also published by Wolfgang Dahmen and Johanes Kramer in "Balkan-Archiv", Neue Folge, XIII/1988, p. 209-281, and XVI/1991, p.109-137.

[18] Richard Sârbu, Vasile Frăţilă, 1998, *Dialectul istroromân* [The Istro-Romanian Dialect], Timişoara, Amarcord, 1998, p. 35.

(Croatia) and speak a language subject to constant changes, the idiom spoken by the inhabitants of Žejane has preserved to a higher degree the archaic structures and elements inhereted from proto-Romanian.[19]

It is very interesting that in 1857 Ioan Maiorescu, who did the first Romanian ethnographical research in Istria, wrote: "These people are not ashamed with their language, on the contrary they consider it as a sanctuary, and they preserve it with great consideration [...] even when they are in the middle of a foreign ethinc group, they discuss between them in this language. Maybe they consider this linguistic switch manoevres as a very useful method, so that other people don't understand them".[20]

We might conclude that Istro-Romanians have some special methods (only through oral tradition) to preserve and transmit linguistic heritage in their families. This was revealed to me during my ethnologic field research in 2005, when I noticed almost the same attitudes upon the dialect, and a kind of consciousness about the importance of how and when to use dialect in private and public spaces.[21]

INTERNATIONAL AND ROMANIAN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES

Vladimiro Papafava, in his study *La ceremonias y fiestas nupciales entre los morlacos della Dalmacia*, made a complete analysis and a comparative study of dalmatinian morlachs wedding ceremonies, which are closely linked with the Istro-Romanian wedding ceremonies.[22] In his book, Giuseppe Vassilich made a short ethnological and linguistic history about *cici* (Istro-Romanians). In the end of this book, the author offers three Istro-Romanian folktales and a complete bibliography about Istro-Romanian minority (works published between 1800 and 1900).[23]

In the same time Camilo de Franceschi, wrote an ethnographic study named *Il castelli della Valdarsa*, in which he offered complete information about the spoken language, customs, rituals and traditions of *Cici* (Istro-Romanian) population from Sušnievića, Sucodru, and Letai.[24]

In the last quarter of the 19th century Ioan Maiorescu wrote an article named *Itinerar istrian* [Istrian Itinerary], in „Foaia pentru minte, inimă şi literatură"

[19] Ibidem, p.36

[20] „Aceşti oameni nu se ruşinează de limba lor, ci din contra o au ca un sanctuar, pe care-l conservă cu mare pietate, de care sunt superbi [...] chiar în mijlocul străinilor, dacă au a se înţelege despre ceva ei cu ai lor la o parte, cuventă în limba lor. Poate că o consideră şi din punctul utilităţei, că au cum să se înţeleagă între sine, fără ca să le afle alţii cugetele şi planurile" (Ioan Maiorescu, *Itinerar în Istria şi vocabular istriano-român*, col. „Români uitaţi", Craiova, 2001, p. 23).

[21] Vilim Sankovit (57 years), Žeijane, 2005.

[22] Vladimiro Papafava, *La ceremonias y fiestas nupciales entre los morlacos della Dalmacia*, Madrid, Gacceta del Notariado, 1890.

[23] Giuseppe Vassilich, *Sui rumeri dell Istria. Riasunto storica. Appendice bibliografica*, Trieste, 1900.

[24] Camilo de Franceschi, *Il castelli della Valdarsa*, Trieste, 1900.

(1874), magazine from Braşov. There he made the first presentation from geographical, anthropological and ethnological point of view about the Istro-Romanian population and its villages, also giving some linguistic examples (a short Istrian-Romanian dictionary).[25]

T.T. Burada made the first scientific ethnological field research in 1896, and three years later he had published his book *O călătorie în satele româneşti din Istria.* [A journey in the Romanian villages from Istria]. This study had various and multiple pieces of information (ethnographical, musical and folkloric) and also a travel diary, offering multiples perspectives about Istro-Romanian community. In the same time, he had mentioned other bibliographic information about the Istro-Romanian minority.[26] In 1936, Petru Iroaie had published a huge musical texts repertory, making the first folkloric categorial classification: satirics and love songs, craddle songs, carols, wedding and funeral songs, exorcism, children games, fairy-tales with dragons, novels and epical genre. Special information was given on the most important religious rituals, on Carnival (*Tri krali* from Žejane), popular belifs linked to the 1st of March (butterfly), supernatural beings (*morinele* and *vârcolaci*). After his ethnological field research in Sušnievica (an ethnological area with great Italian folkloric influence), between 1932 and 1938 he had collected tales, fairy-tales (*ştorii*), popular belifs and superstitions, and interesting informations about religious customs and passing rituals.[27]

In the 1930s Traian Cantemir made some researches on the Istro-Romanian communities, and had published in 1959 in Bucarest a book of tales (ştorii)[28].

ETHNOLOGICAL FIELDRESEARCH AND THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PUST CUSTOM

It is well known that colective memory is capable to preserve and transmit the traditions no more than two generation, so that I had decided in 2005 to made the first ethnological field research together with two collegues, in Žeijani and Sušnievica. After I had read Romanian and international bibliography I had elaborated an ethnological general questionnaire in both Croatian language and Istro-Romanian idiom, in which I had followed the active and passive ceremonial sequences, and the categories of Istro-Romanian folklore that were revealed by

[25] Ioan Maiorescu, *Itinerar în Istria şi vocabular istriano-român*, col. „Români uitaţi", Craiova, 2001, p. 34.

[26] T.T. Burada, *O călătorie în satele româneşti din Istria* (cu figuri în text şi o chartă), [A Journey in the Romanian Villages in Istria (with figures inside the text, and a map)], Bucureşti, 1899, p. 21-35.

[27] Petru Iroaie, *Cântece populare istroromâne* (*149 de texte, 118 cântece din 8 sate istroromâne*) [Istro-Romanian Folk Songs (149 texts, 118 Songs, from 8 Istro-Romanian Villages)], Cernăuţi, 1936, p. 36-78.

[28] Traian Cantemir, *Texte istroromâne* [Istro-Romanian Texts], Bucureşti, Ed. Academiei RPR, Institutul de Lingvistică Cluj, 1959, p. 45.

other researchers. On the other hand, I had followed traditional items capable of having some similitudes with the Daco-Romanian (nowadays Romanian) folklore. In the third place I intended to identify in which way politic climate and economic transformation had influenced the process of preservation and transformation of the Istro-Romanian traditions. The questionnaire was complex, having an ethnologic structure that tried to decelate and underline specific features of today's Istro-Romanian folklore: oral culture (calendric, religious, and lay customs and belifs), passing customs (wedding and funeral), loisir (spare time), popular superstitions and belifs, traditional foods, folktales, music, and imagery.

My ethnological prospection took place between 29 September-10 October 2005, in two different regions, Kvarner-Cičarija, Žeijane (historic name is *Seiani*) and Istra-Cičarija in Sušnievița, Letai, Brdo, Nova Vas, Sucodru. The most important identity marker for Istro-Romanian minority from Žeijani are the customs connected with *Epiphany* (the festival of appearance of Christ to the Magi Gaspar, Melchior and Balthazar), named *Trij Kralj*, yearly celebrated on the 6th of January, which initially represented the year's renewal. These tradition from religious calendric cycle is preceed by a period of physical and spiritual purification of the performers (zvončari). Its name is *Pust*, and denote some special symbolic rituals similar to the Romanian carol custom. The ritual is performed by a male group (even number), in which every member have his role and they must respect some strict rules. *Zvončari* surround in run three times the village and every house, stopping in front of each house, where they jump (*zvonesc)*. The leader name is *Capo* and he walks in front of the *zvonciari*, supervising the discipline and commanding the group actions. With special props, he helps them maintain the rhythm and respect the custom. After the *capo* cames the *cashier*, who collects the gifts (food and wine) offered by the house owners. The *zvončari* group is followed by another group of women and men, who have on their shoulders coloured scarfs, black hats over the men's head, and headkerchief over the women's head. After them came the *orchestra* (band), with drum, guitar and harmonica, carrying a flag with a distinctive embrodery that represents one *zvončar* and the name of the group (Žeijanski Zvončari). [29] The popular costume are formed from three cooper bells attached on the zvončari bodies, accesories which have ritualic and symbolic means. The bells sounds imply some ritual semnifications inducted by its apothropaic (evil ghosts) having an augural function. Another accesory is represented by the *botea* (stick), having tied on it few colored ribbons, used to hit on the door houses, a kind of fertility gesture. On their heads zvončari wear *comarace* made of wheat (a sort of wide brimmed hat), ornate with nude young women photos (fertility symbol). The performers (*Žvončarii*) wear in their feet white wool socks (*şcapine de lâră*) and black boots (*postole*). *Žvončarii* costumes are composed of (*mornarski majice*) sailor shirts, having on their shoulders

[29] Ivan Sankovit (56 years), Žeijane, 2005, is a costumes manufacturer; Mauro Doričić (42 years), Žeijane, 2005, is Capo of *Žeijanski Zvončari* folkloric group.

white handkerchief (*fazzolete*), used to wipe their perspiration during ritual performance, and white trousers (*bragheşe)*. Over the sailor shirts they wear *şube*, an ancient *vest* made from sheep or goat skin over theirs waist, and over the vest they have tied three big cooper bells. On the top of the hats they have *ruja* (rose) a floral symbol made from crêpe paper and also a solar symbol (after Mauro Doričić, the leader of the group). From the brimmes of the their hats they have attached couple hundred coloured ribbons (vegetal symbols). After the end of the festival the hats named *comarace* were burned. [30]

The *capo* wears a white marine officer uniform but he have a private recuzite, which he uses to command the *Žvončari* group: one walking-stick covered with multicoloured ribbons and a whistle to mark the beggining and ending of the rhythmic jumps, and the moments when *Zvončari* leave the front of one house and went to another one. *Zvončarii* must surround three times by running and jumping every house from the village. Usually *zvončarii* from Žejani are the firsts who begin to celebrate ritual of the *Pustul* in Istria and they *zvonesc* in neighbouring villages (Mune and Vele-Mune), and in their village Žejane came other folkloric groups from other villages. The inhabitants of the villages mentioned above hurry up to invite the *Zvončarii* group close their houses, having conviction that these conveyers carry good hope and wealth. All community members have the conviction that the ritual a *zvoni* (to ring) is very important to them, and so these action is valued with unusual enthusiasm.[31]

The house owners offer to *capo* and to the *cashier* (only they have the right to enter the house), o*şoare* (boiled eggs), *slanin* (ham), and *vir* (wine); these food goods will be eaten during the comensual dinner which marks the end of the celebration. During the ritual, *zvončarii* drink *vir roş bur* (good red wine) from a *pustulă*, *bottiglia* (bottle) made out of hard oak wood, but with mesure, just to reinforce their strength. If some of them get drunk, he is or they are punished with exclusion from the group for an undetermined period of time. The village community have a very important role: it chooses and sanctions the *zvončar* who can not reach standards performance. *Zvončarii* must coordinate the rhythm of the jumps, and they do so not only with the bells sounds, but even with the cadence of the jumps, because the efficiency of their prophitiathory ritual depends on the way in which they *zvonesc*. From four or six *zvončari* the community will choose only two to sound (*a zvoni)* Pustul three times, one time for every Holly Magus in these evenings.

The selection moments of the future members for *Zvončarii* folkloric group represent an essential step, because untill 1980 the number of the group members was modified every year; only today the number of the *zvončari* is six.[32]

When the group of men and women that follow the *zvončari* is not more than 40 people the celebration is commanded by one *capo*; when the group is larger than

[30] Ivan Sankovit (56 years), Žeijane, 2005.
[31] Ivan Sankovit (56 years), Žeijane, 2005.
[32] Ivan Sankovit (56 years), Žeijane, 2005.

40 peoples they have two *capo*, one in the front of the *zvončari* and the second one at the rear of the group. The second capo is named by the inhabitans of the Žejane *decji capo* (children's capo). The celebrating of the Pustul have the role to reinforce the relationships of the inhabitants from Žejane village with their relatives who live in diaspora (Italy, France, Germany, Sweden, England, Canada, USA, and Australia).[33]

The symbolic representation of the Old Year is a puppet filled with hay, wearing old clothes, having a clown head, covered with a hat. At the beggining of the ritual, after the dawn, the puppet-named *Veliki Brat* [Big Brother] is hanged on a *stap* (a tall pole) situated in the centre of the village, where it will stay untill the end of the Pust. This human substitute with anthrophomorfous valence is the main character of the last ceremonial sequences, a parody of the funeral ritual, which, through special connexions with the fire symbols, shows a double function: the first one is of purification through fire, and the second one is to stimulate the human, animal and soil fertility, which simbolises in the end the renewal of the world. By the end of the day, after sunset, the puppet body is descented from the top of the tall pole, layed down on a two-wheels cannon frame, and behind it two widows (men in travesty) walk and cry. The whole suite follow the puppet up to the end of the village, where, after a short comical religious sermon, the puppet is striked three times in the head with a stick. In the same time, the puppet is yelled at, „go, go, go!" After these gestures one of the participants ties up the puppet on a vertical cross and burns it.[34]

What is important for us about these props is the fact that they had been preserved almost unchanged unil today, considering Titu Maiorescu description from 1874: *Jeiunesii nu poartă şepce, ci pălărie şi la chiamă comarac. Ele au forma pălăriel or din Ternave şi Mureş în Ardeal, şi nu numai ale junilor, ci şi chiar ale bărbaţilor sunt până sus la fund pline de cordele, de culori diverse. De regulă cordela de jos e de velur (catifea), cele deasupra de mătasă. Diferenţa toată e că la betrâni cordelele sunt de colori mai închise, ear la tineri de colori ce bat la ochi, şi între cari se caută mai ales roişul, cum zic ei la roşu. Colorile mai usitate la juni sunt roşu, galben şi venăt sau albastru. La betrâni predomneşte negrul. Pălăriile tinerilor sunt ornate cu pene de păun şi cu pene (buchete) de flori de câmp şi de grădine.*[35]

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[33] Mauro Doričić (42 years), Zdenko-Miro Uković (67 years), Žeijane, 2005.

[34] Mauro Doričić (42 years), Žeijane, 2005.

[35] „Folks in Jejan do not wear caps, but hats, named *comarace*. Their shape is like of those wore by the Romanian peasantry in Târnave and Mureş regions from Transylvania, and not only those of youngsters, but also those of men are up until the top full of various colors. Usually, the bottom is of velour (velvet), those above of silk. The entire difference is that to the old men they are of darker colors, whereas to the young they are of colors that strike the eyes, among which the red – they call it redish – is in demand. The most frequent colors among the younth are red, yellow, and bluish or blue. Black dominates with old men. The youth's hats are ornated with peackock feathers and feathers (bouquets) of wild and garden flowers" – Maiorescu, Ioan, *Itinerar în Istria şi vocabular istriano-român*, col. „Români uitaţi", Craiova, 2001, p. 56.

The Istro-Romanian rituals as well as other celebrating forms (songs, traditions, customs, gestuality, dance, oral history) are particular by the fact that the whole ritual is performed exclusively by men. Which is not usual, because in the folk traditions of Daco-Romanians (Romanians), Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians (Romanic populations in the Balkans) the role of keepers and transmitters of the traditional repertories lays with predilection in the hands of women. My field research in Žejane revealed another particularity of the local ethnic identity, as it is represented by the musical and vocal repertories. The Istro-Romanians songs are sung only by the men, and show a specific style especially in the group singing. The beggining of the vocal songs is sustained by the soloist (tenor), and the group (three bass) follows him and sing on three parts, making a counterpointal note after note. This remarcable polyphony it is considered to be a reminescence of an old singing style (Istriot or Istrian), having similiarities with Greek, Aromanian and Albanian styles. The men choir (four singers) places itself in front of a deep fountain (*şterna*), and thus uses the echo effect produced by the fountain in order to amplify their voice sounds through a repetead bowing, on regular intervals of time, determinated by the musical measure or by the song's verse.[36] A taxi driver from Rijeka, Croatia, told me that the *Žejanski Zvončari* is the old folkloric group from this region and is the best and most original in the festival of January Carnival. The *Žejanski Zvončari* folkloric group had made several tours in Holland, Denmark, Italy, Germany and other European countries.

Considering the limits of the capacity for preservation of the traditional musical repertory, and its fundamental elements of identification, in rapport with the Croatian majority, our observations revealed many layers which may configurate and complete the Istro-Romanian identity model. The process of choosing the future choir members in the folkloric group is long and complex: after a long period of apprenticeship, under strict surveilance of the old members, only the young that are gifted from a musical and vocal point of view are chosen, because they will be future nuclei after the old ones will die (*betârii vor muri*).[37] Some members of the folkloric group took the initiative of translating and adaptating well-known hits from English, French, Italian or German into the Istro-Romanian dialect.[38] Some of them had tried to translate several fairytales from Croatian and Italian in their dialect and to publish them as a kind of folk literature addressed to the youngsters.[39]

Here I gave two examples of traditional songs sung in Istro-Romanian by the Žejanski Zvončari:

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[36] Zdenko-Miro Uković (67 years), Žeijae, 2005.
[37] Zdenko-Miro Uković (67 years), Žeijane, 2005.
[38] Boris Doričić (65 years), Žeijane, 2005.
[39] Boris Doričić (65 years), Žeijane, Croatia, 2005.

Când am tire io-ntrebat	*Când pe tine eu te-am întrebat*	*When I asked you*
Când am tire io-ntrebat	Când pe tine te-am întrebat	When I asked you
Nu mi te-ai vrut obeci	Nu ai vrut să-mi promiți	You didn't want to promise me
Io de tire nu mă respart	Eu la tine nu renunț	I woun't give you up
Mai mușata neveștu	Cea mai frumoasă nevastă	You, the most beautiful wife
Ka și două mârvițe	Nici măcar două firimituri	Not even two leftovers
Acmo mi te posluşati	Acum ascultă-mă	Listen to me now
Io mi-am aflat o alta	Eu mi-am aflat pe o alta	I found another one
Şi cu negri oklițe.	Şi cu ochii negri.	And she has black eyes.
Când am tire io-ntrebat	Când pe tine te-am întrebat	When I asked you
Nu mi te-ai vrut obeci	N-ai vrut să-mi promiți	You didn't want to promise me
Acmo mi te posluji	Acum ascultă-mă	Listen to me now
Io mi-am aflat o alta	Eu mi-am aflat pe o alta	I found another one
Şi cu negri oklițe	Şi cu ochii negri.	And she has black eyes.
De la Jurine prla Štipe	*De la Jurine pân' la Ştipe*	*From Jurine up to Shtipe*
De la Jurine prla la Štipe	De la Jurine pân' la Ştipe	From Jurine up to Shtipe
Svaka coasa trei oşore	Fiecare casă tri ouă	Each home, three egs
De la Jurine prla la Štipe	De la Jurine pân' la Ştipe	From Jurine up to Shtipe
Svaka coasa trei oşore	Fiecare casă tri ouă	Each home, three egs
Şi prin coase cu slanine	Şi prin casa cu slănină	And throught the house with ham
Vîku cântu ojanina	Se cântă *ojanina*	They sing *ojanina*
Toți an frunte vor juca	Toți în frunte vor juca	They all will dance in the front
Uanu var va ciuda da	Anul care va veni	The year to come
Toți an frunte vor juca	Toți în frunte vor juca	They all will dance in the front
Uanu var va ciuda da[40]	Anul care va veni	The year to come

On the evening of the 19th October 2005, in Sušnijevića hamlet I discussed with Anna Bacco, 78 years old. She told me that in this hamlet today there were only 120 houses and a population of 381 inhabitants, many of them old. She also said me to find Peppo Soldatič and Peppo Glavina, because both were very good storytellers. Anna Bacco asked me to prove that I was Romanian, and I shown her my passport in order to convince her.[41] After one day, when we came back in Sušnijevića, Peppo Soldatič and Peppo Glavina had refused to discuss with me, because they had received through official channel some dispositions from the Prefect (the Chief Administration) of the Čičarija region. This obstacle hindered my research, since one of the main points of my fieldtrip was the collection of legends which explained the origins of the Istro-Romanian minority. For this

[40] Boris Doričić (65 years), Zdenko-Miro Uković (67 years), Mauro Doričić (43 years), Vilim Sankovit (57 years), Ivan Sankovit (56 years), Žeijane, 2005.

[41] Anna Bacco (78 years), Sušnievića, Croatia.

purpose I had started by studying several historical and linguistic hypothesis, mainly launched by Maiorescu and his informants, who considered themselves to have a Latin or Romanian descendant: "everything that they know about their origin [...] they know that are of Roman (Latin) origin, and that on the East is Romania, the Romanian homeland"[42].

In the colective mentality of Istro-Romanians there is, and still continue to be, some represention of their identity in close conexions with Romanian historical space. One of our recent informants, an old woman from Nova Vas, told us a legend of the three villages founded by Istro-Romanians. According to her, the founding legend is about two very old Romanian sheppard families, who came there 600 years ago, setting up, one in Sušnievića and the second one in Nova Vas. A couple of years later, there came other three or four families. They became relatives, and thus were the founders of the villages Sušnievića, Letai, Brdo, Cršani. Maria Čvjič also told us a personal family story, about her first husband who was one of Tito's partisans. In May 1944 she went to help the partisans hided up in the montain forests with food, bullets, and medical equipment. In her right hand she had a basket with food and a bootle of wine, and under her clothes, tightly wrapped on her body, she worn hiden bullets. Stopped by an Italian fascist patrol and questioned about her intention, she told them that her father and husband are sheppherds on Mount Učka and they need food and wine because they had finished their provisions. After two hours of insistent questioning, because she was of Istro-Romanian origin and spoke very well Italian, one of the Italian fascists, Antonio Svevo by name, and having relatives of Istro-Romanian origin, they decided to release her. Maria Čvjič's first husband died in the summer of 1944 in a bloody battle with Germans alpine troups.[43]

THE PRESENT ETHNOFOLKLORIC AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF THE ISTRO-ROMANIANS

The acculturation process of Istro-Romanians in Croatia will continue. The absence of the educative and formative factors – Istro-Romanian priests and sermons, primary school teachers – will lead to the loss of their linguistic marks. In Croatia there aren't any schools in which Istro-Romanian dialect is taught as native language. According to the European Union regulations, the Croatian syllabus gives more and more importance to the study of maternal languages (the standard language); yet, the education system there makes room only for the Croatian language (Čeakavijanski dialect). In fact, today, Istro-Romanians in Croatia are not recognized like a cultural minority, reason why they do not have sermons,

[42] Ioan Maiorescu, *Itinerar în Istria şi vocabular istriano-român*, 2001, p. 71: "totu ce ştiu despre originea lor [...] ştiu numai în general că se trag de la Roma, apoi că spre răsărit mai e România, or paes românesc".

[43] Maria Čvjič (85 years), Nova Vas, 2005.

education, and magazines in their dialect. Young Istro-Romanians understand their dialect, but speak it with difficulties.

The ECHR and OESC explain their purposes through a *Definition of a national minority* made by a High Commissioner on National Minorities. However, his mandate does not contain a description or definition of what constitutes a national minority. Indeed, there is no general agreement on what constitutes a (national) minority, either in the OSCE or elsewhere. In his keynote address at the opening of the OSCE Minorities Seminar in Warsaw in 1994, High Commissioner Van der Stoel stated the following: "I won't offer you [a definition] of my own. I would note, however, that the existence of a minority is a question of fact and not of definition. In this connection, I would like to quote the Copenhagen Document of 1990 which (...) states that *To belong to a national minority is a matter of a person's individual choice*. (...) I would dare to say that I know a minority when I see one. First of all, a minority is a group with linguistic, ethnic or cultural characteristics, which distinguish it from the majority. Secondly, a minority is a group which usually not only seeks to maintain its identity but also tries to give stronger expression to that identity."

The long absence of Istro-Romanian language in the performance of the liturgy and in education (for example, the Istro-Romanians in Male Mune, Grobnic, Vele Mune had neither Istro-Romanian priest nor Istro-Romanian primary school teacher since 1925) will lead to the end at the assimilation of the Istro-Romanian dialect. After 1945, the economic factor, the industrialization and the migration toward towns, in search for jobs, had accelerated the assimilation process of Istro-Romanians. We must consider the demographic characteristics of the area, where Italians, Croatians, Istro-Romanians, Germans, and Slovenians lived together. Žejane village is surrounded by 19 villages and hamlets, and in each of them the population spoke different sub-dialects of the Croatian and Slovenian languages. Since 1999, the primary school from Žejane is closed because of lack of children, and today it is used as a rehearsal hall by the *Žejanski Zvončari* folkloric group. After the Second World War some traditional occupations disappeared, were replaced by several urban activities, and many villagers worked in towns. Many rural traditions disappeared or began to decline because of the industrial civilization. The communication, within the rural culture, is suspended because of the lack of receivers. The restrictive use of Istro-Romanian, especially in the last five decades (since it is hardly an instrument of communication, especially for the young commuters employed in the factory of Rijeka, Opatja and the neighbourhood, or for those who, through mixed marriages, moved to other towns or villages), is a process in full development today. Under such circumstances, I assume that the Istro-Romanian-Croatian bilingualism will soon be replaced by Croatian mono-lingualism, and it might be said that in 20-40 years the the Istro-Romanian dialect will dissapear.

Though bilingual, both old and young Istro-Romanians have a well-outlined linguistic awareness, being able to prove that "*a cuvinta po naşu po jeianski*" (to speak in the Jeianski manner), means something totally different from "*a cuvinta po hârvaţki*" (speaking in Croatian).[44] After Vilim Sanković (plumber) and the mayor of Žejane – who works together with his son on private area – during their working day they discuss between them only in Istro-Romanian dialect, in front of the client: *fata-i meritată cu un hrvat, scie cuvinta po jeianski ali nu pre vre, nuş ce are, jenăi pote. Ficioru nu pote cuvinta, samo înţeleje, ali lucră în Rica cu mene kao vodo i gazovni instalateri, şi cînd-u lucrăm cuvintăm samo po naşe, po jeianski da klient ne pote ânţeleje i scotem buri soldi.*[45]

Recently, in 1994, was founded a Istro-Romanian cultural association in Venice, leaded by Dr. Raţiu, which had begun to publish in Italy newspapers and magazines in this dialect. In 1997, the Ethnic Comunities Union Federation Congres, asks in an imperative mode to Croatian goverment and other international organisations to recognize from the juridical point of view the Istro-Romanian population as an ethnic minority.

In social communication both verbal and nonverbal (gestures, facial expressions, intonations, etc.) codes appear. I approached the story-telling as social communication developed on different levels, according to context, performers, receiver, channel used for sending the message.

In the researched area Žejane and Šušnieviča, the use of the minority languages differs from a locality to another, under the influence of the ethnic, demographic, and historical characteristics. The socio-economic dynamics, interfering with those in the entire Croatia, shape the linguistic option.

The folkloric narratives of the Istro-Romanians in Croatia have been collected only beginning with the firts decades of the 20th century. The Romanian collection of the narratives lacks and most of the famous local story-tellers disappeared. Until 2005, in Romanian archives and especially in the archives of the Institut of Etnography and Folklore did not exist a single recording with Istro-Romanian folkloric narratives and songs. Decades ago, the Croatian field researchers observed the disappearance of story-tellers, who possessed the traditional repertoires. The fairy tales are replaced by other narrative categories. Contemporary folklore adjusts itself according to the social reality within which the borders between rural and urban patterns and between majority and minority have been blurred, giving the phenomenon a homogeneous character. Nowadays, folklore facts are also influenced by mass-media. During the last decades the folklore has been more frequently performed on stage, especially music, dance and customs (Žeijanski Zvončari) in *Pust Festival* on 6 January. The Croatian

[44] Sârbu, Richard, Frăţilă Vasile, *Dialectul Istroromân,* Timişoara, 1998, p. 36-37.
[45] Vilim Sanković, Žejane 2005.

specialists consider these forms of manifestation as aspects of *folklorism,* a phenomenon which offers guidemarks for the way traditions are both preserved and transformed. In these situations the oral narrative repertoire includes categories of traditional prose chosen by peoples. There are cases in which the narratives are learned from a member of the family and then told only by old people, both formal and informal attitudes being present. *The private context of storytelling* is represented by family, neighbours, friends, acquaintances, on the village streets, in front of the house, in the church yard.

In social communication both verbal and nonverbal (gestures, facial expressions, intonations, etc.) codes appear. I approached the story-telling as social communication developed on different levels, according to context, performers, receiver, channel used for sending the message. My research had been focused on the narrative categories of the contemporary folklore, accounts about life experiences, and certain events:

A. Personal tales (family narratives, *ştori* melted in autobiographies, portraits);
B. Oral histories (such as *Ştoria Săliştei*);
C. Oral diary (about the festival history);
D. Memories (partisans stories);
E. Historical legends, etc.

The nucleus of these narrative structures is generated by events in the interwar and postwar period. The referential frame of these texts belongs to the traditional collective memory.

The traditional narrative patrimony is brought up-to-date together with *the written contemporary storytelling*, which tries to preserve the local idiom (Boris Doričić). Professor Dr. Rațiu had published several stories and legends in Istro-Romanian dialect in the „MicRomania Review" from Brusssels.

Storytelling aims at shaping the individual and group personalities. This function is accomplished in the researched intercultural context, using specific means for recovery the identity. In the official context, both oral and written, the local idiom is valorized through narratives built in popular style. The private context belongs to the old people. Their memories, histories, *ştorii* comprise life experience, narrative identities being related to the teller's individuality (age, experience, life), which synthesizes the local representations of the community. In the customs system one can notice an accelerated movement of the process that leads to disappearance, transforming or refreshment of the components.

The Istro-Romanian rural milieu in Croatia is strongly influenced by the contemporary life, and in a few decades was transformed from an autarchic society into a consumption one. Implicitly, innovation was stronger than tradition. These general tendencies are reflected by the decline of the local traditional repertoire of folk tales and legends, of the maintaining of calendar and

family (birth, wedding and funeral) traditional customs, and of the strength of instrumental music as compared to vocal music. Some of these features also characterize the local traditions of the Istro-Romanian community in the Croatian Kvarner. The passing and calendar customs are still present, but with multiple changes and adjustments.

However, the genuine folklore should be considered apart from the "consumption" folkloric forms, the latter being presented in shows, festivals, tourism or as a commodity, and has different functions (considering its performance outside the context in which it was initially created).

During my research I also conducted interviews on some of the customs and traditions categorized according to the calendar cycle (children carolling), and to the family cycle (wedding and funerary). The fact that some folkloric genres and species are still maintained and preserved indicates a certain communitarian attitude towards the importance given to the respective circumstance. The fact that the carnival had not been performed in the traditional period of time caused the disappearance or simplification of some elements. Thus, its dominant functions are entertainment and affirmation of the local identity. The dynamic of this custom raises the issue of the significance and importance of the creative act at the level of reorganizing the tourist carnival in Rijeka (Rica), which puts into circulation the basic motifs, slightly modified, together with several Croatian folkloric groups.[46]

The Istro-Romanian community in Croatia is also under the influenced of the socio-political changes dictated by the negotiations and future integration in the European Union. The native language is more and more taking into consideration, especially in those cultural and economic areas such as the Euro-Regions. The local linguistic-identity mark was influenced by the social context between 1945 and 2005. On the other hand, the economic factors are important for the cultural aspects. This fieldresearch wanted to *read* the identity of the Istro-Romanians in Croatia at the level of attitudes, behaviour and inherited cultural elements observed in the civil society. The informants belong to the category of those who preserve folklore and also receive and continue the local immaterial culture. The community as a source of collective and individual identity works through education, creating events for revitalizing the traditional symbols. After analyzing the cultural and ethnical value of the musical and dance shows, of the official ceremonies (*Tri Kralji-Pust* and *Žejanski Zvončari*), I noticed that traditional music and dances can be better preserved than narrations. The pressure of the environment is mainly felt at the level of verbal language. The folkloric item, schematically but indicatively brought in festivals (carnivals) every year since 1955 can exhibit the identity elements of the local community in the collective memory – even if their are not transmitted outside the festival context.

[46] Rijeka Zvončarskji Karnival, January 2006.

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RECOMPOSITION ET TRANSFORMATION DES BIBLIOGRAPHIES EN BASES DE DONNÉES CONTEMPORAINES

RODICA RALIADE

UNESCO a adopté La Convention internationale concernant le patrimoine mondial, culturel et naturel, à la quelle la Roumanie a adhérée dès 1990. Le concept fondamental selon lequel la Convention (et toute stratégie, programme, procédure, action, etc.) opère est celui d'exceptionnelle valeur universelle, qui justifie et décide l'inscription d'un bien sur la liste du patrimoine mondial. Les specialistes de chaque nation, selon les règles de La Convention, identifient, justifient et proposent l'inscription d'un bien sur la liste du patrimoine mondial. Il s'agit, en effet, de proposer des biens du patrimoine national pour figurer dans une liste aux valeurs susceptibles d'être inscrites dans le patrimoine mondial. La Convention internationale doit intégrer dans le patrimoine universel aussi les chefs-d'oeuvre spirituels, la culture orale y compris (témoignage sur les civilisations anciennes et présentes).

LE RÔLE RÉCUPÉRATOIRE DE LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Toute réflexion culturelle implique le retour au passé intersecté par le présent. Des renseignements, à peine accessibles autrefois, sont réintroduits peu à peu dans la circulation culturelle et scientifique. Après 1990, la conscience culturelle roumaine rattrape ses valeurs patrimonialles, car la recherche scientifique roumaine a eu la liberté d'aborder des thèmes peu tangibles jusqu'à ce moment-là. On retrouve, par exemple, les informations sur les centres monacales, la littérature d'inspiration religieuse, les livres populaires hagiographiques, l'art médiéval chargé de message chrétien, mais aussi les histoires orales ayant comme sujet les années du totalitarisme communiste, la cohabitation ethnique, etc. On témoigne une attention spéciale à la dynamique des phénomènes culturels par aborder l'oralité urbaine, l'identité confessionnelle, l'interculturalité vécue par les minorités culturelles de l'espace roumain ou par les communautés roumaines à l'étranger.

Souvent, les récupérations culturelles sont possibles à l'aide des outils de recherche scientifique. L'interdépendance entre l'information de culture nationale

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et l'information spécifique, par exemple d'ethnologie, impose une consultation complexe par raport à l'ensemble de grands bibliographies culturelles (imprimés et virtueles.).

L'accès à l'information est fondamental à la liberté culturelle. La possibilité d'obtenir des informations scientifiques elargit l'aire de la connaissance. L'exactitude des données dépend de sources infodocumentaires, de la probité des créateurs de documents. La créativité scientifique a pour point de départ la connaissance fondée sur des données, d'information adéquate. Les instruments de recherche fournissent des informations à haut degré d'exactitude et un degré réduit de probabilité/inexactitude.

La bibliographie represente un instrument très important de documentation. En tant que produit scientifique, la bibliographie est le résultat de l'effort de systématisation, d'ordonnance des documents à caractère infodocumentaire général ou spécial. En tant qu'objet d'étude, la bibliographie c'est l'instrument de travail initial et – en même temps – fondamental dans toute entreprise scientifique sérieuse.

«La bibliographie a une double valeur: 1. pratique, de mettre à la disposition du lecteur tout ce qui a été écrit et publié concernant le domaine d'intérêt; 2. théorique, d'évaluation du parcours et de l'état de développement de la discipline, de la quantité ou qualité des préoccupations en ce qui concerne notre intérêt particulier» (N. Constantinescu et Al. Dobre, 2001: 127).

Tous les types de bibliographies[1] représentent une sélection, une attitude critique sur la culture présente ou passée, aussi bien que de la recherche à la longue durée. Les usagers des bibliographies, les spécialistes et le grand public cultivé, lui aussi, agissent de manière critique sur l'information bibliographique, par la sélection des données d'intérêt.

LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES ANCIENNES LIVRES ROUMAINES

Des ouvrages élaborés il y a des siècles reviennent à l'attention des spécialistes de manière directe ou par l'intermède des bibliographies ou sont integrés des notices sur des materiaux rares, les uns aujourd'hui disparus, les autres détériorés ou retirés du circuit de la lecture. Certaines informations sur ces livres d'exception peuvent être trouvées seulement dans de telles bibliographies.

Un chef-d'oeuvre bibliographique et bibliophile, repère culturel national et européen, contenant des références aux premiers textes imprimés pendant l'époque

[1] La bibliographie retrospective, contenant des documents apparus pendant l'histoire. La bibliographie courante ou contemporaine renvoie aux matériaux tout récents, qui assure l'actualisation des informations concernant des phénomènes socioculturels récents (comme par exemple, les changements de modèles culturels). La bibliographie spéciale d'un domaine, comme la bibliographie d'ethnologie (régionale; individuelle, d'une personnalité en domaine; en fonction des thèmes et motifs; d'un périodique, etc.).

de la médiévalité roumaine, est *Bibliografia românească veche, de la 1507 până la 1830* [2] *de Ioan Bianu şi Nerva Hodos* [*L'ancienne bibliographie roumaine, de 1507 à 1830* par Ioan Bianu et Nerva Hodos].

À l'Académie Roumaine, les grands bibliographes de la fin du XIX[e] siècle, Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoş, Al.Sadi Ionescu, George Bengescu etc., ont élaboré *le plan d'une bibliographie générale de la culture roumaine*. Les 40 436 volumes, que possédait La Bibliothèque de l'Académie en 1891, imposaient une rigoureuse systématisation. Ioan Bianu et Nerva Hodoş devaient réaliser un inventaire descriptif d'anciens imprimés roumains. Le travail a commencé en 1896 et en 1898 apparaissent, dans de remarquables conditions graphiques, les premiers fascicules de *L'ancienne bibliographie roumaine*. En 1903 elles seront imprimés sous la forme du premier volume. Après sept ans apparaissait le deuxième volume. Seulement en 1936, Dan Simonescu, ancien étudiant et disciple de Ion Bianu, achève et imprime le troisième volume.

La bibliographie de l'ancienne culture nationale roumaine est le fruit de la collaboration entre Bucarest et des autres grands centres culturels roumains. L'ouvrage contient des informations sur les livres publiées depuis le XVI[e] siècle dans toutes les anciennes provinces roumaines.

Ion Bianu envoyait de Bucarest à Blaj chaque fascicule de l'ouvrage, avant ou après son impression, où son ancien professeur, Ioan Micu Moldovanu procédait à une sévère révision tant de forme que de fond. À son tour, le savant érudit de Blaj expédiait à Bucarest, c'est-à-dire au-delà de la frontière de la Trasnylvanie, des livres trouvés dans La Bibliothèque Centrale de l'Évêché de Blaj, afin d'être vus directement par Ion Bianu. D'ailleurs, Ioan Micu Moldovanu entreprendra aussi une enquête bibliographique officielle dans la Transylvanie, à la demande de Ion Bianu. Peu à peu, La Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest enrichira son fonds d'ancien livre roumain. C'est Nerva Hodoş, le coauteur de la bibliographie, qui s'est déplacé dans le pays, visitant les grandes bibliothèques dans le but des acquisitions et de la documentation. Dans le même

[2] *Bibliografia românească veche, de la 1507 până la 1830* de Ioan Bianu, bibliotecarul Academiei Române, profesor universitar şi Nerva Hodoş, bibliotecar-ajutor al Academiei Române. Tom I, 1508-1716, Ediţiunea Academiei Române, Bucuresci (Stab.grafic I.V. Socec), 1903; Tom II, 1716-1808. Bucureşti, Ediţiunea Academiei Române (Atel.Socec & Co.), 1910; Tom III. Fasc.I-II. 1809-1817, Bucureşti, Ediţiunea Academiei Române (Atel. grafice Socec & Co.), 1912.; Vol. III, 1818-1830. Coordonator Dan Simonescu, Bucureşti, Ediţiunea Academiei Române, 1936 [*L'ancienne bibliographie roumaine, de 1507 à 1830* par Ioan Bianu, le bibliothécaire de l'Académie Roumaine, professeur universitaire, et Nerva Hodoş, aide bibliothécaire de l'Académie Roumaine. Tome I, 1508-1716, Les Éditions de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest (Établissement graphique I.V. Socec), 1903; Tome II, 1716-1808. Bucarest, Les Éditions de l'Académie Roumaine (Ateliers Socec & Co.), 1910; Tom III. Fasc. I-II. 1809-1817, Bucarest, Les Éditions de l'Académie Roumaine (Ateliers graphiques Socec & Co.), 1912; Vol. III, 1818-1830. Coordonnateur Dan Simonescu, Bucarest, Les Éditions de l'Académie Roumaine, 1936].

bût, le 30 juin 1898, il a fait lancer un appel qui a eu un fort écho parmi les bibliothécaires, les instituteurs, les prêtres.

Méthodologiquement, cette grande bibliographie conserve la méthode utilisée par Al. Odobescu[3], le fondateur de la science bibliographique roumaine, par les bibliographies allemandes et hongroises, publiées en Autriche-Hongrie, aussi bien que par les ouvrages d'Emile Picot[4]. Attiré par l'étude d'anciens imprimés religieux roumains, en alphabet kirilique, Emile Picot a publié une bibliographie des livres du métropolite Antim d'Ivir[5]. Par ces modèles, *L'ancienne bibliographie roumaine* a acquis une tenue scientifique d'exception.

Parce que cette ouvrage résume toutes les connaissances sur l'ancien livre roumain avec de descriptions détaillées sur des imprimés anciens, aujourd'hui tous ces références imposent une organisation moderne, par la récomposition et la transformation de la bibliographie en bases de données contemporaines. Pour chaque livre introduit dans cet bibliographie, les fichiers doivent contenir toutes les données particulières comprises: l'an et lieu d'apparition, l'auteur, l'éditeur et les dépôts où se trouvent des exemplaires du livre respectif, les éditions ultérieures, contenant des notations aux principales chrestomathies où sont inclus des fragments des livres décrits; l'énumération des plus importantes présentations critiques des livres et des auteurs, respectivement des imprimeurs; les facsimilés des spécimens d'imprimerie, les ornements et les vignettes de livres anciens, en gardant d'habitude même le format original.

L'ancienne bibliographie roumaine, oeuvre de synthèse culturelle nationale, a été appréciée le long des années par de grandes personnalités de la culture européenne. Le linguiste viennois W. Mayer-Lübke appréciait sa monumentalité, due à la richesse des informations. Le bibliographe grec Dimitrios Ghimis considérait que cette oeuvre fait honneur aux auteurs et à l'Académie Roumaine qui a supporté les frais de la luxueuse édition et, enfin, à l'art typographique roumaine. Gustav Weigand, le bien connu linguiste allemand de Leipzig (la cité des bibliographes, des librairies et des bouquineries) a écrit qu'elle «est conçue d'une manière grandiose et brillamment réalisée». C'est aussi que, à l'apparition du premier volume, les savants russes ont affirmé que l'ouvrage «fait remplir également un grand vide dans la bibliographie des ouvrages slaves» (Al. Dobre 2000).

Par les références aux oeuvres réligieux en glagolitique et les réproductions facsimiles, l'ouvrage est devenu une importante source bibliographique pour

[3] Par son ouvrage *Despre unele manuscripte şi cărţi tipărite aflate în mânăstirea Bistriţa* [Sur quelques manuscrits et livres imprimés se trouvant dans le monastère de Bistriţa], „Revista Română" ['La Revue Roumaine'], 1861.

[4] Secrétaire du Prince Charles I, puis vice-consul de la France à Sibiu, de 1879 Emile Picot avait été élu membre d'honneur de l'Académie Roumaine.

[5] *Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir, métropolitain de Valachie. Nouveaux mélanges orientaux...*, Paris, 1886 (dans «Bibliographie hellénique», vol. IV, p. 315-560), puis *Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de la typographie dans les pays roumains au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1895, 43 p.

l'espace culturel orthodoxe. Les facsimiles assurent à la bibliographie une importance particulière pour l'histoire de l'imprimerie et de l'art décoratif. Notamment, les notices bibliographiques dévoilent la circulation de livres anciens, le commerce et l'échange des imprimeries. En même temps, on peut découvrir, au longue des siècles, le passage du texte religieux slavone au texte religieux en roumain, utilisant l'alphabet kirilique, importants moments de la culture sud-est et centrale européenne. Ces données concernant les valeurs culturelles de patrimoine national, en général, mettent en valeur l'interdépendance et les affinités culturelles.

CONTENUS DE PATRIMOINE CULTUREL

Dans une societé moderne, la définission d'une structure de base des données spécifiques permet l'accès et utilisation supérieure de l'information. La réalisation d'une telle structure suppose la coopération entre les specialistes du domaine et les analystes des base des données. Les premiers fournissent le contenue et la structure informationnelle du domaine spécifique. Au tours de role, les analystes doivent comprendre très bien toutes les elements de la culture afin de faire toutes les connexions intérieures entre les données fournies par les chercheurs.

L'étude présent de la culture doit nécessairement inclure aussi les formes culturelles plus anciennes. Dans ce but, on doit consulter de différentes sources parmi lesquelles se trouvent aussi les bibliographies. Le contenu même de ces bibliographies doit être introduit dans les bases de données; une même base de données de l'ancienne culture représente une reconsidération moderne des époques passées et un point de départ pour redéfinir les patrimoines culturelles au niveau des concepts contemporains.

La Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine a construit un site avec quelques éléments culturels, mais, au but de constituer une véritable base de données, son état actuel manque non seulement de contenu, mais aussi aux niveaux de la structure. Donc, la Bibliothèque de l'Académie doit continuer l'effort de réaliser la base de données de l'ancienne culture roumaine.

Une bibliographie culturelle informe, d'une façon succincte, sur les composants culturelles. Savoir utiliser une bibliographie nationale peut conduire à des évaluations correctes des valeurs particulières, rapportées à celles européennes. Une base de donnée surgie des bibliographies nationales doit être façonée en corrélation avec les autres bases de donnée des cultures européennes. Ceci permettra une intégration de la culture roumaine dans l'ensemble culturel de l'Europe. Seulement une recomposition et transformation des informations bibliographiques (leur interprétation et sélection critique, sur des concepts moderns) dans des bases de donées peut s'avérer très utile dans le procesus d'inclusion des biens matériaux et imatériaux sur la liste de la Convention UNESCO.

152

137.

1646.

491 Liturghier (Slujebnic) slavonesc, tipărit de Archim. Ioan în Mănăstirea Dél.

ЛѴТѫРГІЯРІОНЪ | сѝ ѥ̑стъ | Слѫжє́бникъ. ѿ лѵтѫрги̑и | Сѵ̑тѡ Васи́лїа | вели́ки, | Іѡа́нъ златоу́ст: и̑ пре́жде сі̑ныхъ. | Ѥ̑мнѝиже приложи́ася ѥс ѥ̑ѵгліи, | в[ї], Сѵ̑тыхъ страстеи. | Ѩпсли и̑ ѥ̑ѵгліѥ пра́зникомъ кладны́хъ | Ѥ̑ѡрѡдны́хъ, Сѵ̑тыхъ пра́знѣлыхъ. | Пресѵ́тломѣ и̑ бо́го | чести́комъ Гспдр҃ѣ Іѡ҃ | Матѳе́и Басараѵ́ѣ Воєвод | Ѧлѣ́то ѿ Сѫзда́нїа [мі̑ра] | ,зр и д.

„Liturghier, adică Slujebnic cu liturghia sf. Vasilie cel Mare, a lui Ioan Gură-de-aur şi a sfinţilor înainte de ei, pe lângă care s'aŭ adăogat cele 12 evangheliĭ ale sfintelor patimĭ, apostolul şi evangheliile la sărbătorile împărătescĭ, ale Maicei Domnuluĭ şi ale sfinţilor sărbătoriţĭ. Prea luminatuluĭ şi drept credinciosuluĭ Domn Io Mateĭ Basarab Voevod. In anul dela zidirea lumeĭ 7154".

In-4° de 6 foĭ nenumerotate şi 264 numerotate sus în dreapta, grupate în caiete de câte 4 foĭ cu signatura cirilică obicinuită, adică literele alfabetuluĭ cirilic, carĭ se repetă pe foile 2 şi 3 însoţite de cifrele cirilice. Exemplarul văzut de noĭ are numaĭ 4 foĭ liminare şi 115 foĭ numerotate. Textul e tipărit cu negru şi roşu şi cu caractere de două mărimĭ. Pagina plină are 18 rînduriĭ. Titlul este încadrat în acelaşĭ ornament xilografic ca şi *Pravila* dela Govora, *Pogribania* şi *Mistirio*.

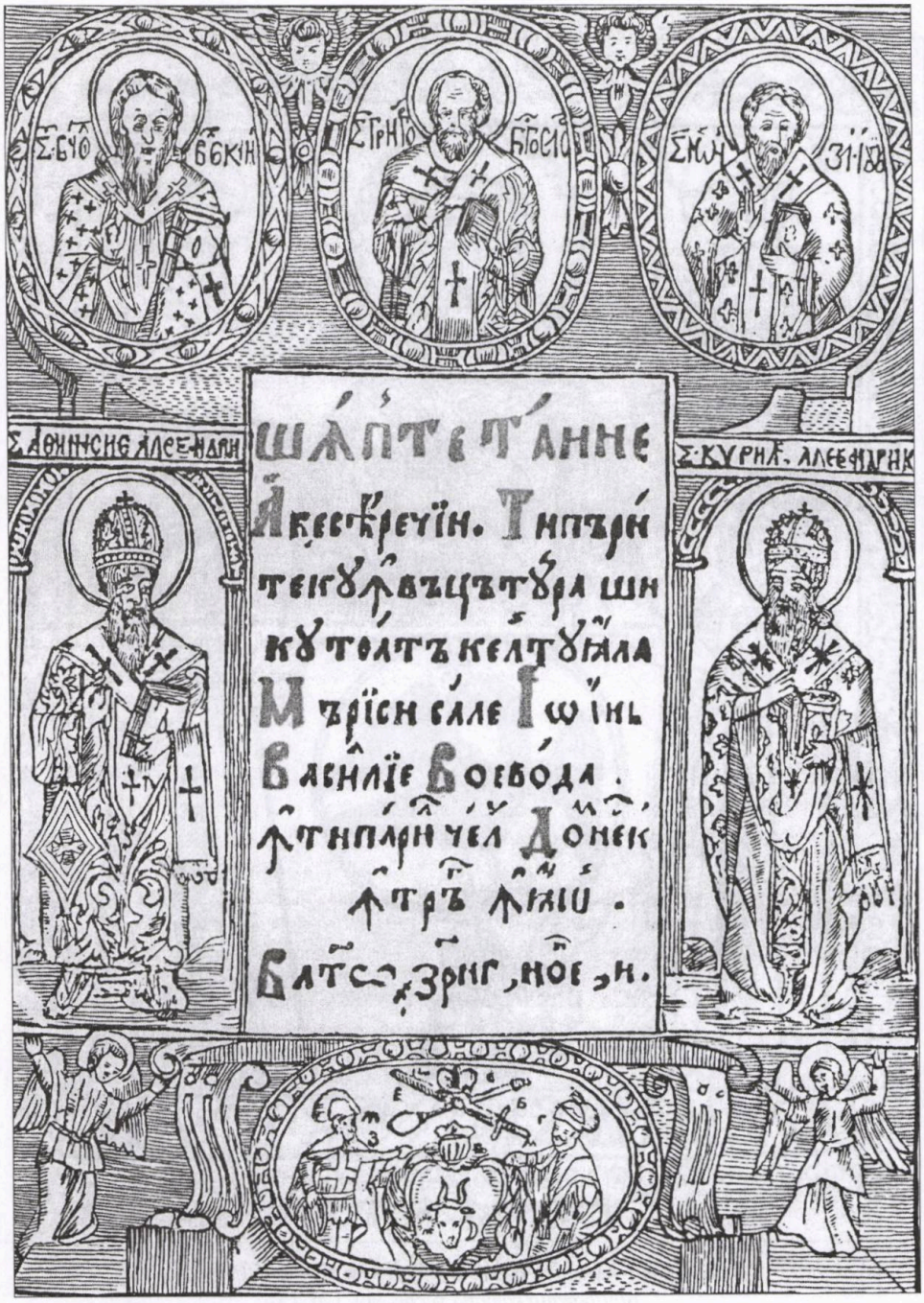
Pe verso titlului se află o gravură representând pe Isus Christos şi pe Maica Domnuluĭ, sus; pe Sf. Nicolae, la mijloc; pe Mateiŭ Basarab şi pe soţia sa Dómna Elena, având între eĭ stema Ţăreĭ Românescĭ, jos; şi în fine, sub eĭ, la picioarele Domnuluĭ, pe Archimandritul Ioan dela Mănăstirea Délului (no. 138). La f. 14 v. e representat Sf. Ioan Gură de aur, la 55 v. sf. Vasile cel Mare (no. 139), iar la f. 78 v. sf. Grigore Dialogul (no. 140).

Pe una din foile liminare se află următórea prefaţă:

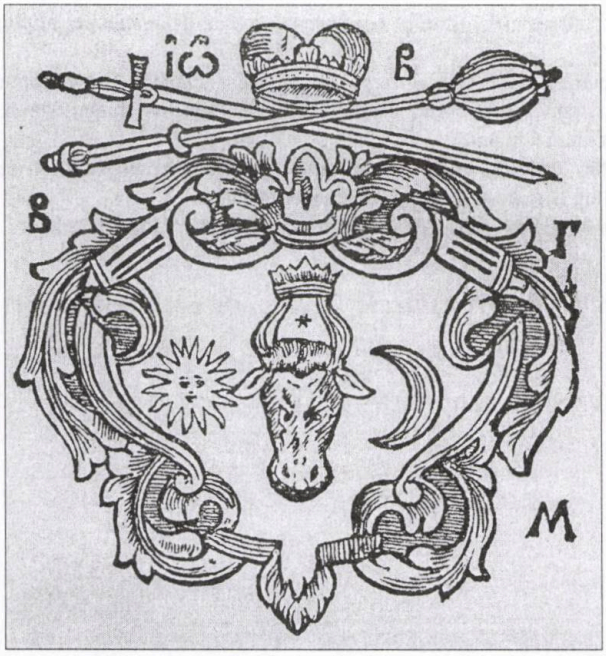
Бѣ҃ ѫсесилнагѡ бл҃гостїю, и̑ мановенїем Пресѵ́тломоу и̑ Бо́гочестнкомоу гспдарю Іѡ҃ Матѳе́ю Басараѵ́ѣ, Началнико҃ Воєко́дъ ѕгроклаѵ́ѣи запланенскїа, сѫщ҃ѣ тожде и Ласкѣ́нем Прѣсв҃ѣннагѡ Митропо́лита, Гспдина Θеѡ́фила Ѩрхиепископа тожде землѧ покла́ѵти, ѥ̑ѫ сѝм сѵ̑тым кни́гам слѫжѣ́бникомъ и̑ли Литѵ́ргіам и̑з печатны своѧ, и̑же в дѫ́ском монасты́ри сѵ́тоу здѫ́тиса бо́го и̑звол҃ися, ѿ

Liturghier [Le livre lithurgique] (1645), *Bibliografia română veche*, vol. I, p. 142.

Liturghier slavonesc [Le livre lithurgique slavonie] (1646),
Bibliografia română veche, vol. I, p. 152.



Şapte taine [Sept mystères] (1644), *Bibliografia română veche*, vol.I, p. 148.



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ROMANIAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGIES: THE SECOND VERSION OF AN INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCHOLARLY LITERATURES

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In 1991, the international prestigious journal 'The World of Music' (abbreviated here as WM) a first version of a bibliography of ethnomusicological literatures published in international languages. As shown in the title, *Romanian Ethnomusicologies: A Shortly Commented Bibliography of Scholarly Literature in International Languages* (in the following lists, entry no 70), it was a briefly commented bibliography, as the present one is, too, just a few entries benefiting from the insertion, in square brackets, of short notes and observations made on contents, relevance, themes, problems, or keywords.

That previous occasion also was hosting a comprehensive presentation of the numerous reasons why this bibliography looked the way it did. The thematic limits and expansions illustrated were explained there, reason why now I simply send the reader to that article (entry 70, pp. 259-263), thus saving here the space that might intellectually require, tempt, challenge or provide explanations.

A Romanian version of that first attempt at illustrating the international visibility and availability of Romanian ethnomusicological scholarship was published also in my book *Studii şi materiale de antropologie muzicală* [Academic Essays and Materials Pertaining to Musical Anthropology], Bucureşti: Editura Muzicală, 2003: 347-394.

Since it now includes almost one hundred titles more then on the first occasion, this second version/edition of my bibliography is obviously enlarged. It is updated not only with the help of titles that came out after the year 2001 – although this was the main process – but also of entries that qualified for being included in the previous version. I explain: even if the bibliography published in WM numbered 516 entries, some titles and authors, valuable for the subjects of ethnomusicology, organology, folk music studies, ethnochoreology, and byzantinology, have missed. Reasons why were too various and numerous to be enumerated

here; suffice is to remind that many of the problems and difficulties faced in this bibliographical endeavor were already mentioned on that previous occasion (see the already mentioned introductory essay). However, both recuperating rare or previously ignored items and keeping up with whatever came up in latter years were my continuous tasks. This is why the following pages are the second edition of a continuous bibliographic work. A bibliographic work that is particular in both form and purpose, because it tries, on the one hand, to check the *virtual exposure and visibility of a "national project"*, and, on the other hand, to enhance these exposure and visibility.

A bibliography reminds and makes available both current and forgotten contributions. It brings the later back to life and puts them in circulation; and it also validates and so some extent consecrates them.

As suggested in the first version/edition, my work has nothing to do with patriotic or sentimental commitments, and not even with professional duties. However, it fits in the general current of finding applied and more activist senses and avenues for ethnomusicology. If other Western colleagues have chosen to deal with Romanian issues for the reason that by doing so they might cover an available, blank spot, and therefore it might be much easier to acquire expertise were there was no competition, me, in turn, I found that Romanian scholarship, as modest as it may be, was marginalized, as well as that the interest in knowing and acknowledging this scholarship was encouraged by very a few. It is not by assuming the political significance of this scholarship that drove me to survey this bibliography, but, somehow, in the contrary. The *political insignificance* of the Romanian scholarship was something that became a subject for study, to me, and which I dealt with in several essays. The bibliographical adventure of hunting for authors and titles came as part of the same general project, because the material gathered in that way offered the most palpable proof for discussing that topic with seriousness.

Making a bibliography is not a highly creative work, and does not supply the author with the inner joys that any original, inspiring or provocative idea usually delivers. It is a hard and useful, and yet a humble work, requiring focus and patience, routine and discipline. I took up the scholarly labor of, usually, a librarian only because this also served as a starting point for a more ambitious project; which is: the policies of scholarship, or the politics of the scholarly disciplines, as well as the games of influence and competition in between scientific paradigms, schools, methods, trends, traditions, and, why not, of individuals, too.

To a shallow chronological or alphabetical listing of titles and authors I preferred the analytical categorizations, in accordance with main accents present in each particular contribution and despite the fact that most of the books and papers surveyed address – more often than not – several different issues, topics, subjects, methods, attempts, contents.

Thus, here again, articles are set in the sections for which they demonstrate dominant relevance. Yet, most of them are complex and could easily and justifiably join one or several from the other categorizations.

As already stated, this is – more often then not – "a bibliography of rare research papers, a list of endangered works" (entry 70, p. 261). Many of the articles listed came out in cheaply printed or obscurely edited publications, and/or out-of-reach periodicals. Most of them were checked, also being part of my own readings, some of them, since unavailable, were not.

The previous part of this bibliography was spiced here and there with tiny notes. The unsystematic character of those comments or introductions contrasted somehow with the duly character of the identifying, checking and classifying work, of the listing itself. They were not resumes proper, like those to be found in canonical bibliographies or references sources. Here, notes or explanations occur especially when scholarly contributions address ethnomusicological issues only partly, in specific or isolate sections of their content.

This is, "a *Romanian-related* bibliography" (entry 70, p. 261), in the sense that foreign authors are also present, as well as topics and approaches which might partially trespass, at times, the strict frameworks of the traditional ethnomusicological disciplines, yet they come from the authorship of consecrated Romanian ethnomusicologists. Moreover, such contributions are significant not only for the personal career of our fellows, but also speak about either dominant or suppressed trends, about multidisciplinarity and expertise, about intellectual quests or challenges. The same way this is a "Romanian-related" work, it is also an "ethnomusicology-related" one, because cognate sciences are again invited to contribute to the ethnomusicology's complex, comprehending and influential role. For this particular reason I added here ethnochoreology and byzantinology, despite their relative independence and consecrated autonomy.

In several cases, corrections and completions of entries in the first, WM version/edition occur, as well as recent reprints of old entries are mentioned.

STRUCTURING SECTIONS

A. General and Introductory Presentations, Topical Drafts
B. Field Reports, Collections, Presentations and Systematizing
C. Historiographical or Archival Research, Portraits and Biographies
D. Analytical Synthesis and Theoretical Essays
E. Ethnic Communities: Field Collections, Observations, Analysis
F. Comparative Studies
G. Organology
H. Ethnochoreology
I. Byzantinology

EXPLAINED ABBREVIATIONS

AE = 'Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae' (Budapest: Academy of Sciences in Hungary).

AM = 'Acta Musicologica' (Bulletin de la Societé Internationale de Musicologie, Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag).

Anuar IEF = 'Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie şi Folclor "Constantin Brăiloiu" [Yearbook of the IEF 'CB'] (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române).

CMT = 'Cahiers de Musiques Traditionelles' (Geneve, Athéliers d'Éthnomusicologie).

DS = 'Dance Studies' (ed. Roderyk Lange, London/Jersey: Centre for Dance Studies).

Dialogues = 'Dialogues. Revue d'études roumaines et de traditions orales méditeranéennes' (ed. Jacques Bouét, Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry).

EEME = 'East European Meetings in Ethnomusicology' (ed. by Marin Marian-Bălaşa, Bucharest: Romanian Society for Ethnomusicology).

EME = (From 2001 on, the above yearbook, called until 2000 EEME, from 2003 transferred to the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology).

'**ESEM Point**' = (Bulletin of the 'European Seminar in Ethnomusicology').

'**Ethnomusicology**' = (Journal of the American Society for Ethnomusicology).

JIFMC = 'Journal of the IFMC [International Folk Music Council]' (1949-1968); turned into YIFMC (1969-1980), and YTM (1981-).

JM = 'The Journal of Musicology. A Quarterly Review of Music History, Criticism, Analysis, and Performance Practice'.

JV = 'Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung' (Berlin).

Lares = 'Rivista trimestriale di studi demo-etno-antropologici, diretta di Giovanni Battista Bronzini' (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore).

MA = 'Music in Art' (New York).

MAEO = 'Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta scientifica' (Bydgoszcz: Philharmonia Pomorska).

Martor = 'Martor. Revue d'Anthropologie du Musée du Paysan Roumain' (Bucharest).

MF = 'Makedonski Folklor' (Skopije: Institut za Folklor).

'**Muzica**' = monthly magazine (1956-1989) and semestrial (1990-): 'Uniunea Compozitorilor şi Muzicologilor din România (UCMR) [Association of Professional Composers and Musicologists in Romania]'. From 1968 news and abstracts in French came out there. From no. 4/1969, a 'Nouvelles musicales de Roumanie. Bulletin d'information de l'Union des Compositeurs de la République Socialiste de Roumanie' is added, publishing news, notes, reviews, and consistent portraits dedicated to Romanian composers and musicologists.

NSF = 'Narodno Stvaralastvo Folklor. Obran Saveza udrujenia folklorista jugoslavije / Folklore. Organe de l'Union des associations des folklorists de Jougoslavie' (Belgrad: Review of the Yugoslavian Folklorists' Association, Music Academy).

OM = 'Orbis Musicae' (Tel-Aviv: Dept. of Musicology, Tel-Aviv University).

OSP = 'Oxford Slavonic Papers' (Oxford: Clarendon Press), New Series.

RESE = 'Revue des Études Sud-est Européenes', (Bucarest: Editions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie).

RM = 'Revista Muzeelor' (Center for Training, Continuous Education, and Management in the Field of Culture, Bucharest).

RO = 'Rocznick Orientalistyczny' (Warsaw: Panistwowe Wydwnictwo Naukowe, Komitet Nauk Orientalistycznych).

RRHA = 'Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Théâtre, Musique, Cinéma' (Bucharest).

RRSS = 'Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales, Série de Philosophie et Logique' (Bucharest, quarterly).

RS = 'Recorded Sound' (London: Journal of the British Institute for Recorded Sound).

SEER = 'The Slavonic and East European Review' (London: Cambridge University Press).

SIMP = 'Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis' (ed. by Gustav Hilleström, Stockholm: Nordiska Musicförlaget for the Musikhistoriska Museet).

SM = 'Studii de Muzicologie' (Bucharest).

SMASH = 'Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae' (Budapest: Akademiai Kiadó).

SAO = 'Studia et Acta Orientalia' (Bucharest: Societé des Sciences Historique et Philologique de Roumanie, Section d'études orientales; from vol. 8: Association d'études orientales de la République Socialiste de Roumanie).

Rad (...) KFJ / KSFJ / KSUFJ = [Proceedings of the (...th) Congress of the '(Saveza) (Udruženija) Folklorista Jugoslavije' – Union/Association of Yugoslav Folklorists].

WM = 'The World of Music' (Quarterly Journal of the International Music Council [Paris] in association with the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation – Berlin. Later it remained only the Journal of the International Institute for Traditional Music - Berlin; from the 1990s on, Bamberg: University of Bamberg. Edited by Max-Peter Baumann).

YIFMC = 'Yearbook of the IFMC [International Folk Music Council]' (1969-1080). Continuation of the (formerly) 'JIFMC'.

YTM = 'Yearbook for Traditional Music' (annual journal of the ICTM [International Council for Traditional Music], 1981-). Output of the same organization, nowadays ICTM, 'YTM' continues the former JIFMC and later YIFMC.

A. GENERAL PRESENTATIONS AND INTRODUCTIONS, THEMATIC SKETCHES

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B. FIELD REPORTS, COLLECTIONS, PRESENTATIONS, AND SYSTEMATIZING

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C. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH, PORTRAITS AND BIOGRAPHIES

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220. Idem: *Musica Daco-Romana*. Bucureşti: Editura Muzicală, vol. 1/1978, 472 p., vol. 2/1982, 746 p. [monumental work, in French, with ancient, original scripts. Most comprehensive historiografic research, concerning the ancient musical cultures, also related to modern and contemporary remnant proofs within folk tradition, byzantine chanting, oral literature, organology, iconography, and living performance].
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D. ANALYTICAL SYNTHESIS AND THEORETICAL ESSAYS

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232. Idem: *Techniques des enregistrements sonores*. In: *Travaux du I-er Congrés International de Folklore*, Tours (Publications du Département et du Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires): Imprim. Arnault, 1938: 286-289. Since the first publishing retained the paper's resumé, the integral, extended version came out in 'Muzica' 8/1968: 20-21; both variants, to be seen in *Opere/Oeuvres* [entry 248] 5: 13-22.
233. Idem: *Sur une ballade roumaine (La Mioritza)*, Geneve: Imprimerie Kundig, 1946, 13 p. Reprint: *Opere/Oeuvres* [entry 248] 4; *Problémes* [entry 249] p. 41-54; and, as *On a Romanian Ballad* (English translation), in *Problems* [entry 250] p. 113-119.

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238. Idem: *Sur une mélodie russe*. In: *Musique russe II* (Pierre Soutchinsky ed.), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953: 329-391. Reprint: *Opere/Oeuvres* [entry 248] 1: 305-399, and *Problémes* [entry 249] p. 341-405. English translation (*Concerning a Russian Melody*) in *Problems* [entry 250] p. 239-289.
239. Idem: *Le vers populaire roumain chanté*. In: 'Revue des Etudes Roumaines' (Paris) 2/1954: 7-74. Reprinted at Paris: Ed. de l'Institut Universitaire Roumain Charles I, 1956, 71 p.; *Opere/Oeuvres* [entry 248] 1: 15-118; *Problémes* [entry 249] p. 195-264.
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241. Idem: *Une problème de tonalité (le métabole pentatonique)*. In: *Mélanges d'histoire et d'esthetique musicales offerts à Paul-Marie Masson*, tome 1, Paris: Richard-Masse, 1955: 63-75. Reprint *Opere/Oeuvres* [entry 248] 1: 281-303, and *Problémes* [entry 249] p. 407-421. English version: *A Problem of Tonality: The Pentatonic Metabole*, in 'EEME' 6/1999: 123-137.

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G. ORGANOLOGY

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H. ETHNOCHOREOLOGY

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I. BYZANTINOLOGY

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Iordan Datcu, *Dicţionarul etnologilor români. Autori. Publicaţii periodice. Instituţii. Mari colecţii. Bibliografii. Cronologie* [Dictionnaire des ethnologues roumains. Auteurs. Publications périodiques. Institutions. Grandes collections. Chronologie]. Ediţia a III-a, revăzută şi mult adăugită [Troisième édition, revue et amplement augmentée], Bucureşti, Sæculum I.O., 2006, 983 p., ISBN 973-642-098-1.

Publiée à la fin de l'année 2006, la troisième édition du *Dictionnaire des ethnologues roumains* couronne un travail d'une trentaine d'années consacré à la constitution, dans ses lignes générales, du corpus des chercheurs ayant contribué, le longue des années, à la configuration de ce que l'on pourrait nommer aujourd'hui, selon les usages en vigueur, l'ethnologie roumaine.

En fait, l'idée d'une telle «entrée» dans l'étude de la culture traditionnelle roumaine est plutôt ancienne, et Iordan Datcu ne manque pas de le noter. Depuis Jan Urban Jarník jusqu'à Dimitrie Caracostea, la nécessité d'un tel instrument de travail a été suggérée, sinon argumentée de manière convaincante. Plus encore, quelques folkloristes de moindre importance du début du XX^{e} siècle, dont Şt. St. Tuţescu et Artur Gorovei, ont publié des opuscules destinés à présenter succinctement la vie et l'activité de certains chercheurs qui ont étudié les traditions.

En tant que trajet systématique de recherche, d'une envergure nationale, ce projet a été inauguré en 1979 par Iordan Datcu et Sabina-Cornelia Stroescu avec la publication du *Dicţionarul folcloriştilor români (Folclor literar românesc)* [Dictionnaire des folkloristes roumains (Folklore littéraire roumain)], Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică. L'ouvrage a été suivi en 1983 par un deuxième volume, qui répertoriait «les spécialistes du folklore musical et chorégraphique». Beaucoup plus tard fut publiée la deuxième édition de l'ouvrage, en trois volumes, intitulée *Dicţionarul etnologilor români* [Dictionnaire des ethnologues roumains], I–II, Bucureşti, Saeculum I.O, 1998; III: *Autori. Publicaţii. Periodice. Instituţii. Mari colecţii. Bibliografii. Cronologie. Completări la vol. I–II* [Auteurs. Publications. Périodiques. Institutions. Grand collections. Bibliographies. Chronologie. Complétions aux vol. I–II], Bucureşti, Saeculum I.O., 2001.

Enfin, le tome qui fait l'objet de cette présentation reprend et remet au jour (autant que possible) les informations des deux variantes précédentes; les données concernant les chercheurs, les institutions, les publications, les collections d'ouvrages, etc., ne figurent plus dans des sections disparates, l'auteur ayant choisi de les ranger alphabétiquement.

Dans ce contexte, le *Dictionnaire des ethnologues* peut être évalué tout d'abord en tant que texte proprement-dit, ensuite comme trajet de réflexion plus général, qui a rassemblé au XX^{e} siècle une partie représentative, bien que peu nombreuse, de la communauté des chercheurs roumains intéressés à l'étude de la culture traditionnelle. C'est très probablement au prix d'un travail de moine bénédictin que l'auteur qui incarne ces deux approches, Iordan Datcu, a réussi de mener à bonne fin une entreprise qu'il définit lui-même comme «un engagement profond et de longue durée» (p. 22).

À mon avis, l'intérêt de cet ouvrage lexicographique réside tout d'abord dans la longue liste des chercheurs qui ont observé, consigné, décrit et interprété la culture traditionnelle roumaine. Dans chaque cas de figure, les articles donnent de brèves informations bibliographiques sur l'auteur en question, en présentent les principales contributions au développement du domaine; une liste de références bibliographiques (plus ou moins complète, plus ou moins concluante) accompagne chaque entrée du dictionnaire. La valeur documentaire et bibliographique de l'ouvrage est pratiquement inestimable, car sur nombre d'auteurs y figurant des informations lacunaires sont à trouver dans la presse à faible tirage des deux derniers siècles. Dans d'autres cas, les travaux des auteurs répertoriés,

bien qu'importants pour un sujet ou un autre, à une époque ou une autre, dans une perspective méthodologique ou une autre, ont eu une diffusion limitée et sont aujourd'hui difficilement accessibles, voire des raretés bibliographiques. Le mérite de l'auteur est non seulement d'avoir pris connaissance des recherches en question, et de les avoir définies en tant que telles, mais aussi d'avoir su faire les frais des difficultés concrètes, matérielles, de documentation.

Nous ne pouvons que regretter le fait que Iordan Datcu s'est contenté jusqu'ici d'une élégante présentation académique de sa recherche, dans les préfaces successives aux trois éditions du *Dictionnaire*, en passant sous silence le vaste travail préparatoire; à mon avis, un témoignage de l'auteur, rédigé d'une manière plus libre, nous permettrait de pénétrer dans le laboratoire de l'ouvrage. Quels sont, concrètement, les genres de sources utilisées pour établir la liste des auteurs? Quelle est la part de l'évidence et de la mémoire et à quel point contribue à la clarification du projet le dépouillement d'une bibliographie de plus en plus étendue et l'étude des archives de plus en plus spécialisées? Où intervient le hasard, comment fonctionne le système «de bouche à l'oreille» qui fait que chaque communauté professionnelle soit un excellent terrain de transmission orale des informations? Quel type de correspondance faut-il entretenir, et avec quel genre d'interlocuteurs, pour rédiger des articles complets, même dans des cas où les taches blanches semblent inhérentes? Nous pensons qu'un texte de facture testimoniale serait un très utile révélateur de l'idée que la confection d'un dictionnaire dans ce genre n'est qu'un simple travail de collecte et systématisation des données, mais aussi, et surtout, un travail de construction, de configuration et reconfiguration des dimensions et de l'amplitude des projets et des idées qui donnent la consistance d'une discipline scientifique. Or, les auteurs/chercheurs sont les meilleurs passeurs pour pénétrer dans un domaine du savoir.

En l'absence d'un tel (pseudo)journal de «terrain», il faut remarquer que depuis sa première édition, le dictionnaire a été constamment augmenté et qu'il comprend aujourd'hui trois fois plus d'articles. À premier abord, il s'agit d'un effet logique de cumulation des données, qui exprime la tendance à l'exhaustivité du lexicographe... Mais, à une analyse plus profonde, si l'on compare la première et la troisième édition, nous pourrions déceler une modification de perspective sur «l'article – *id est* le chercheur glosé». Si au début Iordan Datcu (tout comme sa collaboratrice, Sabina-Cornelia Stroescu) donne un sens axiologique au terme «folkloriste», il favorise par la suite l'acception ontologique, ce changement de perspective n'étant pas toujours justifié ou justifiable. En d'autres mots, l'auteur se met en route avec l'idée d'écrire, selon la logique textuelle du dictionnaire, sur les chercheurs importants et représentatifs de la culture traditionnelle roumaine, et trois décennies plus tard, il arrive au bout de son projet avec une liste impressionnante où se retrouvent côte à côte des auteurs de grande valeur, de nombreux chercheurs mineurs, mais aussi beaucoup d'auteurs insignifiants, voire même à la limite de l'imposture scientifique, mais qui peuvent franchir le « seuil minimum », le *minimum minimorum* qui validerait leur statut existentiel d'ouvriers sur le terrain de l'ethnologie roumaine. Nous ne saurions situer le point d'infléchissement de la perspective ou trancher s'il s'agit d'un choix délibéré, tout comme il nous est difficile de dire s'il s'agit de l'effet secondaire d'une boulimie du fait inédit, qui est le trait distinctif de l'activité de Iordan Datcu ces dernières décennies. Tout compte fait, le résultat nous semble très positif: c'est-à-dire ce livre érudit et riche en informations, renvoyant à des volets de la vie scientifique et culturelle, certes des plus variés, mais par là-même inextricables et impossibles à ignorer.

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, la croissance exponentielle du dictionnaire est à expliquer par l'accueil que la communauté professionnelle a fait aux variantes antérieures de l'ouvrage. Élogieuses, ambiguës ou ouvertement critiques, les chroniques aux éditions précédentes du *Dictionnaire* de Iordan Datcu n'ont eu de cesse de signaler des lacunes: qui n'y figure pas, quelle est l'explication de telle ou telle omission, que faut-il ajouter? Même dans les cas d'avis réservé au sujet de la mention d'un auteur dans le dictionnaire, personne n'a demandé explicitement la suppression d'un article. Par conséquent, et en suivant la tendance générale au sein de la communauté professionnelle, Iordan Datcu a ajouté constamment de nouveaux noms, a cité des références et des articles supplémentaires, a écrit d'autres pages, ce qui nous fait croire que le changement de perspective dont nous venons de parler s'est produit aussi sous la pression du souhait de toute une communauté professionnelle de s'autodéfinir selon des critères essentiellement ontologiques.

Malheureusement, au sein de la communauté professionnelle il n'y a pas eu encore de débat sur la fiabilité du critère implicite à l'œuvre dans le dictionnaire de Iordan Datcu: celui qu'un auteur peut figurer dans le dictionnaire – *id est*, peut être considéré *ethnologue* – à condition qu'il ait écrit un livre (au XX[e] siècle), ou tout simplement un texte (avant 1900), traitant de la culture populaire roumaine. Si l'on envisage les choses de cette manière, nous acceptons tacitement la pertinence du critère appliqué par Iordan Datcu. Ensuite, nous pouvons établir un rapport avec un préjugé roumain, très fréquent depuis quelques décennies, selon lequel l'ethnologie aurait un caractère intégrateur et fonctionnerait dans une logique transdisciplinaire; par voie de conséquence, toute une série d'approches de la culture en général et de la culture traditionnelle en spécial seraient à consigner dans cette anthologie. Enfin, mais pas en dernier lieu, la discrétion injustifiée de la communauté professionnelle au sujet de ce «critère d'existence de l'ethnologue» (le seuil minimal à atteindre pour endosser ce rôle) découle de l'impasse d'autodéfinition où se trouve actuellement cette discipline en Roumanie. C'est dans ce dernier sens que nous voyons une limite, non pas de l'auteur du dictionnaire, mais plutôt, comme nous le disions plus haut – à propos des rapports étroits du dictionnaire avec une direction, restreinte mais consistante, de métaréflexion disciplinaire –, de l'ethnologie roumaine actuelle, dans son ensemble.

En fait, ce livre laborieux et abondant en informations a la chance extraordinaire d'être plus que la clôture (certes, éclatante, mais clôture quand même) du vieux projet de la recherche roumaine d'analyse de la culture traditionnelle. Ces pages rassemblent une masse impressionnante d'informations que l'on peut désormais interpréter, afin de saisir toute la complexité des processus disciplinaires. Nous nous tenons à des suppositions, après une première lecture du dictionnaire, mais nous pensons que l'on pourrait mieux comprendre la place de l'ethnologie roumaine, en nous interrogeant, par exemple, sur les professions de ceux qui ont été considérés ethnologues (en sachant que le seul chercheur roumain de l'époque communiste avec un doctorat en ethnologie, fait en Allemagne, a eu de sérieux ennuis à son retour, parce qu'il n'y avait aucune possibilité d'équivalence du diplôme, l'ethnologie ne figurant pas dans le nomenclateur des spécialisations). Quels sont les inconvénients (ou les avantages) du dilettantisme et qu'est-ce qui caractérise le professionnalisme dans ce domaine? (Répondre à cette question signifie implicitement focaliser sur la spécificité et les objectifs de cette discipline.) Y aurait-il un avenir pour l'ethnologie roumaine, dans des conditions où le corps des professionnels actifs à l'époque communiste recevait annuellement dix (même vingt) nouveaux membres (v. p. 951-953), tandis qu'aujourd'hui on intègre à peine un ou deux jeunes chercheurs par année?

Je veux dire qu'au-delà de la monumentalité qui est un effet de sa finitude, le *Dictionnaire des ethnologues roumains* peut être lu comme une œuvre ouverte, problématique et apte à ouvrir un nouveau laboratoire de recherche.

Otilia HEDEŞAN

Tony Brill, *Tipologia legendei populare româneşti*, prefaţă de Sabina Ispas, ediţie îngrijită şi studiu introductiv de I. Oprişan, *I. Legenda etologică*, Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I.O., 2005, 656 p., *II Legenda mitologică, legenda religioasă, legenda istorică*, Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I.O., 2006, 576 p.

Eminent researcher of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in 1950-1967, Tony Brill (1910-1986) has contributed throughout an erudite, methodical, and persistent scientific performance to the knowledge and the defining of an important segment of the Romanian folk prose – the legend. Her work was already made visible in an early programmatic essay, *Principiile clasificării legendelor populare româneşti* [Principles for Classifying the Romanian Folk Legends] (in "Revista de etnografie şi folclor", 1965), in anthologies (*Legende populare româneşti. Legende istorice*

[Romanian Folk Legends: Historical Legends], 1970, *Legende geografice româneşti* [Romanian Geographical Legends], 1974), in her selected edition (*Legende populare româneşti, I* [Folk Romanian Legends, vol. 1], 1981), and in the bibliographical typology that is presented on these pages. Thus, this precious academic work tool joins the other works, their setting up being – as Sabina Ispas asserts – a proof "of the maturity, awareness, and autonomy that experts and disciplines themselves have acquired".

The first surprise is given by the richness of legends – over 6000 types, the etiological ones being set in between nos. 10001 and 13035; the mythological, in between 13055 and 13895; the religious, between 13925 and 14144; and the historical, 14571-16103.

The coming out of this fundamental working tool is, to a large extent, a surprise also to some experts, who dealt – more anthological and interpretatively – with this segment of the folk prose. It is a surprise because only now the Romanian folk legend shows its real dimensions. In many anthologies, the main stress is on legends about Ştefan cel Mare, Vlad Ţepeş, Horia, Avram Iancu, and Alexandru Ioan Cuza. This typology expands very much the number of types about rulers (namely, to 46), also encompassing legends related to female figures (Brancoveanu's Wife, Brâncoveanu's Daughter-in-Law, Cuza Vodă'a Wife, Neagoe Basarab's Wife, Ştefan cel Mare's Wife, The Girl from Cozia, Maria Putoianca, Maria Sutaşului). There also are legends on historic-fantastic characters, legends about foreign historical figures, outlaws, local events, fortresses, castles and palaces, churches, religious characters, icons, old customs, towns, land patches, nations, wars, revolutions, ruins and disappeared places, villages, schools, towers, etc.

This vast landscape of the Romanian folk legend was made possible due to a deep and persistent research throughout all sources: 216 volumes and brochures, 278 periodicals, 16 manuscripts, as well as collections in the Archives of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore (some with audio documents, some without). At the time of elaborating this typology, the author has done pioneer work, numerous problems being raised in connection with the task of organizing and systematizing the huge amount of documents Tony Brill had in hand. In the Romanian academic literature there is no similar thing, and in the European space only monographic typologies exist (such as, Valerie Hotges, *Typenverzeichnis der deutschen Riesen und riesischen Teufelsagen*, Helsinki, 1937; Lauri Simonsnuri, *Typen- und Mottiw-erzeichnis der finnischen mythischen Sagen*, Helsinki, 1961).

From case to case, by an ingenious system of systematization the author has revealed the aspects of the four large sectors of the legend, the types and the specificity of legends, the features of the mythological legends being different from those of the etiological legends. Out of discriminations like these also came up the need for grouping and examining the mythological legends after the description of characters, the attributes of their powers, evil actions, talents (linked to interdictions), protections against them, happenings, etc.

In the case of some historical legend depicting rulers, such as Ştefan cel Mare – on whom the folk memory is prodigious – the author has grouped them "in connection with his childhood and the most suggestive events in this life period, the foresight of future, most important women in his life, his enthronement, relationship with the people, standpoint in various or special circumstances, connection to enemies, battles and the token of gratitude shown toward God after each victory, bits of remaining buildings and citadels, the portrait of the brave as illustrated by the folks, his death, etc." In the description of the legends typology about Vlad Ţepeş, the honest researcher will realize – in spite of the foreign filmography, which falsified the Romanian king by making him a vampire – that the folk texts set his portrait and deeds in a real dimension.

By mastering a vast material, the author has defined in all the sections of her typology the type of each legend, has inventoried its variants, and has established the combinations in which it entered together with other legends. Out of the desire for illustrating a most conclusive picture of the legends, she has also recorded the *fabulate* [fantasies] (artistically achieved pieces), as well as the *memorate* [memory-based] ("plain reports of some punctual experiences"). Out of the need for completeness, she did not left aside unique pieces either. A type is presented with all its episodes, with its fundamental version, and with the discussion of various variants, which allows the launching of some

conclusions upon the richness of that type, upon its constant features, and upon its possible combining with other types. In order everything to be eloquent, the comparative examination expands beyond the sphere of legends, toward all the species of the folk prose, the results of this endeavor being the making of a monograph for each particular type.

This work comes out due to the literary critic and historian, and ethnologist, Ion Oprişan, who prepared this edition not in accordance with the – lost – format that Tony Brill had left, but in accordance with the first version of its editing. I also have to make a special note on his introductive essay – for its fine discriminations between myth, legend, and superstitious story, between legend and folk historical tradition, as well as for its considerations about the themes, composition, and means for artistic achievement in the folk legend.

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CONTENTS

The Old Turned Anew
(Note from the Editorial Board) 179

ACADEMIC ESSAYS

LARRY FRANCIS HILARIAN
The Symbolic Importance of Melayu Music in the Emerging State of Johor in Peninsula Malaysia 181

KAI ÅBERG
Popular Musics of the Finnish Roma 197

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
The Metaphysics of the Folk Song: Actualization of Virtual Forms, Disappearance of Potentialities, and Invasion of Novelties 209

OTILIA HEDEŞAN
Giovedì santo e i fuochi dei morti 217

ALEXANDRU POPESCU
Rumäniesche Eßkultur zwischen Tradition und Wandel 237

ILIE MOISE
Begriffe der rumänischen Identitätsfindung: das kosmische Christentum 247

NICOLAE PANEA
L'ordure d'or 259

SABINA ISPAS
The Ballads of the Horse Thieves 265

MARIANA VIDA
Sources ethnographiques et image artistique dans la culture visuelle roumaine du XIXe siècle 273

BOOK REVIEWS

NICOLAE CONSTANTINESCU
Adolf Schullerus, *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor. Conform sistemului tipologiei basmului întocmit de Antti Aarne*. Traducere din limba germană de Magda Petculescu. Ediţie îngrijită şi prefaţă de I. Oprişan [*The Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and their variants. According to Antti Aarne Folktale Typology System.* Translation from German by Magda Petculescu. Edition and preface by I. Oprişan,], Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2006 297

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 175–309, Bucureşti, 2007

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MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
Ceribašić, Naila and Haskell, Erica (eds.), *Shared Musics and Minority Identities: Papers from the Third Meeting of the "Music and Minorities" Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), Roč, Croatia, 2004*. Zagreb, Roč, 2006 303

List of Contributors 307

REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR
JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

Serie nouă 2 2007

SUMAR

[Vechiul, înnoit. O menţiune din partea Comitetului Editorial] 179

STUDII

LARRY FRANCIS HILARIAN
[Importanţa simbolică a muzicii melayu în tânărul stat Johor (Peninsula Malayesiei)] ... 181

KAI ÅBERG
[Muzicile populare ale romilor finlandezi] 197

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
[O metafizică a cântecului folcloric: actualizarea formelor virtuale, dispariţia potenţialităţilor şi invazia noutăţilor] 209

OTILIA HEDEŞAN
[Joia Mare şi focurile morţilor] 217

ALEXANDRU POPESCU
[Obiceiuri alimentare româneşti între tradiţie şi transformare] 237

ILIE MOISE
[Concepte ale identităţii româneşti: creştinismul cosmic] 247

NICOLAE PANEA
[Gunoiul de aur] 259

SABINA ISPAS
[Baladele hoţilor de cai] 265

MARIANA VIDA
[Izvoare etnografice şi imagine artistică în cultura vizuală românească din secolul XIX] 273

RECENZII

NICOLAE CONSTANTINESCU
Adolf Schullerus, *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor. Conform sistemului tipologiei basmului întocmit de Antti Aarne*. Traducere din limba germană de Magda Petculescu. Ediţie îngrijită şi prefaţă de I. Oprişan, Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2006 297

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[Lista autorilor] 307

THE OLD TURNED ANEW
(Note from the Editorial Board)

The old "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" has recently celebrated its 50 anniversary. We call it "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" because this was its long-lasting name, a name due to which the journal became profoundly embedded into people's mind.

In fact, at the beginning, it was only "Revista de folclor". In the 1950s, "folklore" was the keyword or paramount concept signifying the totality of disciplines that will make what we conceive nowadays as... ethnologies. And it also was the fact that the "Institutul de Folclor" (Folklore Institute), founded in 1949, was conceived as the academic venue specialized in the research of folk music, folk dance, and folk literature. Only that the Institute grew up, over the decades incorporating other sections, departments, disciplines, thus expanding its area of expertise, tasks, and interest. In 1964, taking over an entire department for ethnography from the Institute for the History of Arts, it was named "Institutul de etnografie şi folclor". Hence, our periodical became, like the Institute, a *Journal of Ethnography and Folklore*.

Later on, the patron of our journal changed. The Institute expanded again, becoming "Institutul de Cercetări Etnologice şi Dialectologice" [Institute of Ethnological and Dialectological Research], whereas the "Revista..." remained the same. It was to the Institute to come under the former patronage and umbrella that served as the continuity platform for the journal – the Romanian Academy. And the journal survived, preserving its name, also after the Institute (of Ethnography and Folklore), added to its title the name of its spiritual patron, Constantin Brăiloiu (1991).

Over these five decades life span "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" has fluctuated numerically. It had two issues per year, then twelve, six or four. Now we will have two yearly issues, compensating its page volume through intellectual quality and modernity.

After a sad interruption during the most recent years, the Romanian Academy decided to revive the journal, as well as to give it a new impetus. The present volume

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 179–180, Bucureşti, 2007

is the second output of this initiative, which aims at turning "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" into an internationally available, compatible, and competitive resource.

From a nation-wide platform for supporting, communicating, illustrating and promoting the academic research in Romania, from now on this journal widely opens to the international academia. Any research in traditional cultures or in oral forms of cultural expression can find space here, henceforth inviting all colleagues to share with us their intellectual best, their findings and expertise, by submitting their original, most solid papers and academic essays.

"Revista de etnografie şi folclor" is a peer-reviewed journal, obeying and recommending all the high standards reached by the social, cultural, and anthropological disciplines performed today.

THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF MELAYU MUSIC IN THE EMERGING STATE OF JOHOR IN PENINSULA MALAYSIA

LARRY FRANCIS HILARIAN

In Malaysia, music plays an important part in many aspects of Malay society and traditional music continues to function in the normal everyday life of most people. In this paper I will discuss the importance of the State of Johor (in Peninsula Malaysia) since the early 1990's. In recent times, Johor, which is in the southern most part of the Malay Peninsula, has been asserting its cultural and economic importance as the cultural centre of the Malay World (*alam Melayu*). It can be argued that without any doubt, the State of Johor surpasses many of the *Melayu* regions in terms of tradition, culture and musical practices. Johor State has now become the torch bearer of "*Melayu* culture" and it is respected as being the centre of the Malay World (*alam Melayu*).[1]

The particular focus of interest in this paper will be the emergence of Johor State as the new centre of *Melayu* culture and the significance of musical instruments such as the *gambus* lute and its two most important musical genres, *zapin* and *ghazal*. The other two less significant musical practices that are also associated with Johor musical heritage are the *hamdolok* (dance drama theatre) and the *kuda kepang* hobby horse ritual dance.[2] This paper also addresses a number of other related cultural issues. It explores the role of *gambus* music in social contexts such as weddings and festivals.

I will also explore the continuity of the traditional music and dance through tourism and school education programmes, which are being perpetuated for the

[1] The words "Melayu" or "Malay" can be used interchangeably. However, in this research, I will use the term "Melayu" to refer to only Muslim/Malays, not including Aboriginal Orang Asli or other non-Muslim groups of Malay ethnicity. The Melayu people identify with each other both socially and culturally by their religion (*ugama*), customary rites (*adat*), language (*bahasa*) and in their music (*muzik*).

[2] This will not be discussed as they are not within the purview of this paper.

survival of the Muslim/Malay cultural heritage. It is hoped that the performances of Malay music tradition will assist in the maintenance of Muslim/Malay values and cultural characteristics in the face of pressure from globalisation, modernization and Westernization.

In turn, it is argued that the evolution of folk music tradition occurs under pressure from the major cultural imperatives of Melayu*ness* and its particular relation to Islam. The role of the all these genres play in the blending together of traditional music of Malaysia, are discussed in relation to the development of a Malaysian national identity. I will conclude the paper with a discussion of the social importance of the *gambus* music, which acts as a symbol of Malay identity and pride tied to *Melayu* culture and religion in present day Malaysia.

My first contact with traditional musicians in Johor (in particular to *gambus* players and makers) came from information given to me by the Malaysian Culture and Sports Ministry in Kuala Lumpur. Although they had little knowledge about where I could find *gambus* players and makers, they provided me with one initial contact with a *gambus* player and also some information regarding cultural matters and behavioural expectations when conducting research in Malaysia. Eventually, through one contact, Pak Attan, a traditional musician from Renggit in Johor, I was introduced to other musicians and this gave me ever-widening access to their world of music. Although my contacts with the Malaysian Ministry of Culture and Tourism developed well, some problems were encountered with the local state government of Johor, a very important region for research into the *gambus*.[3] Subsequently, I was granted permission to conduct fieldwork by the Federal Government (Prime Minister's Office) in Kuala Lumpur, and this led to extensive field trips with no restrictions. This special permission stamped on my passport allowed me to gain access to many places in Malaysia, including government institutions and local *kampong* (Malay villages).

The *gambus* and its musical genres *zapin* and *ghazal* are not only found throughout the Malay World (*alam Melayu*), comprising Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei, but also among non-Malay speaking communities of Aceh, Sulawesi, eastern Kalimantan, Flores and Java. After gaining a greater understanding of the *gambus* in its wider area I found it imperative to focus my research on one particular area. I decided to concentrate on the *gambus* and two of its musical genres, *zapin* and *ghazal,* as found in Peninsular Malaysia, and in particular in State of Johor.

[3] The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, established in 1964, is responsible for the promotion of cultural activities in Malaysia.

Map 1 Peninsular Malaysia

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Fieldwork interviews, discussions, conversations and seminars played a crucial part in this research. These were conducted with makers of *gambus*, professional and semi-professional *gambus* players, dancers and scholars. My data collection was largely based on personal interviews and participant-observation through learning to perform on the *gambus*. Baily (1995[b]: 331-347) discusses learning to perform as an important aspect of research methodology as it provides potential insight into musical structures and the science of music or "music theory" based on folk views held about the music. He points out that only as a performer can one acquire a certain essential kind of knowledge about music.[4]

[4] See Baily (1988).

METHODOLOGY

Most of the interviews were carried out in the *kampong* (Malay villages) in an informal setting. Over the ten years of my research I visited the same musicians, makers and dancers many times. Most interviews were carried out in *Bahasa Melayu* as very few practitioners spoke English in the *kampong*.[5] Part of my research was to find out what sort of "music theory" is articulated by different practitioners of Malay music. It was interesting to note that some of the things practitioners said in *Bahasa Melayu* differed from what had been stated in English by scholars. Practitioners in some instances contradicted each other and some musicians seemed to even change their opinions on some issues over a period of a few years. Through careful analysis I was able to clarify some confusing and conflicting points. These were the most difficult parts of my research as at times it was hard to make sense of some "musical terminology" expressed in *Bahasa Melayu*. The use of these terms differed from one place to another and was inconsistent. It took a tremendous amount of time to check and verify these sources.

In my fieldwork I did not confine my research to only one particular area. My initial field study was made in Johor. I then looked outwards by making field trips to the other *Melayu* cultural areas in Sumatra, Riau, Penyegat, Bintan, Kalimantan in Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei and also the coastal areas of Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak in East Malaysia.[6] Finally, I went back to Johor (Peninsular Malaysia) and concentrated on my research. It became the focal point of this study. It was in the State of Johor that most of my extensive visits were done by locating myself in a few places where traditional folk musicians met and performed regularly. These were mainly in the towns of Batu Pahat, Muar and Johor Bahru. I also visited performers in Kuala Lumpur frequently, as some of the best traditional musicians have moved there from Johor, as opportunities of recognition and employment are better in the capital city.[7]

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[5] Before World War I Malay was usually written in Arabic characters. The national language of Indonesia is a modified form of the Malay language called *Bahasa Indonesia*, and today is generally written in the Roman alphabet (McAmis, 2002: 47). The translation of most of the relevant materials from *Bahasa Melayu* into English is mine.

[6] Historically, the Isthmus of Kra, the Malay Peninsula, Riau, Sumatra and Kalimantan have belonged to one historical reality – the Malay World (*alam Melayu*). Geographically, this is an area interconnected by well-traversed bodies of water – the Straits of Melaka, the Straits of Singapore and the South China Sea (Benjamin and Chou, 2002:5).

[7] One such person is Fadzil Ahmad. He moved from Muar in Johor, to Kuala Lumpur and established himself as one of the finest *gambus* players in Malaysia. He was employed by the Ministry of Culture and Sport. He has also received many accolades from the State and has represented Malaysia as a *gambus* performer in many parts of the world. He is known as "Raja Gambus" (King of the *gambus*) in Malaysia.

THE IMPORTANCE OF JOHOR

Johor, in the southern end of Peninsular Malaysia, became the pivotal point of this study because most of the traditional musical instrument makers and performers are still connected with this state even though they may work elsewhere. Over the last 30 years, practitioners migrated to other parts of the country where greater opportunities permitted the practice of their art. I explained to these performers and makers of traditional musical instruments regarding my keen interest in Malay music and culture and they advised me about which areas I should visit in Peninsular Malaysia. Almost everyone I spoke to pointed in the direction of Johor (refer to Map 1). Throughout the entire research I have revisited many of the important "cultural hot spots" in Johor.

There were several reasons for choosing Peninsular Malaysia (*Semenanjung Tanah Melayu*), and particularly Johor as the site for my research. First, Johor became the new centre of the "*Melayu* kingdom" after the conquest of Melaka by the Portuguese in the 16th century. Second, Johor today is looked upon as the centre of *Melayu* culture and music by the rest of the *Melayu* speaking people from different parts of Malaysia and adjoining countries.[8] It seems that the *gambus* is closely identified with *Melayu* identity. Third, the *gambus* and its musical genres *zapin* and *ghazal* were always associated with Johor.[9] Fourth, most traditional musicians, *gambus* players and makers were scattered all over Johor but came together for the traditional music festivals which were held frequently in Johor Bahru (the most important town in the state of Johor). Finally, the *gambus* and its musical ensembles are often used as symbols to represent the state of Johor (see photographs [a] and [b]).

JOHOR'S MUSICAL HERITAGE

Since the early 1990's, Johor has again been asserting its importance as the cultural centre of the Malay World (*alam Melayu*). Most traditional instrument makers are found in Johor, mainly in the towns of Muar, Batu Pahat, and Johor Bahru. Today, the *gambus* and its musical genres *zapin* and *ghazal* are closely

[8] The importance of Johor was also mentioned in Chinese sources. Historically, Johor has been known to traders as an important refitting and resting centre. Chinese sources have mentioned *Lo Yueh*, a town in Johor, which was described in the 9th century as "a place where traders passing back and forth meet" (Andaya and Andaya, 1982:22).

[9] The two areas in Johor, Muar and Batu Pahat, have maintained a form of the *zapin Melayu* tradition, which is not duplicated anywhere else in the Peninsula except in Trengganu state (Mohd. Anis Md. Nor, 1993).

identified with this state. There are also other less popular musical genres that are identified with Johor, such as *kuda kepang* and *homdolok*. Other states in the Malay Peninsular have different music genres that are identified with them. For example, Penang and Melaka have their *kronchong* and *dondang saying*, Kelantan has its *wayang kulit*, and *ma'yong*, while Pahang has its *joget gamelan*. The question is why are *gambus, zapin and ghazal* mainly identified with Johor? Many Malay music scholars and musicians I asked were unable to provide a satisfactory explanation. However, they were unanimous in their opinion that *ghazal* and *zapin* were established first in the State of Johor and then spread to other parts of Peninsular Malaysia.

Mohd. Anis Md. Nor pointed out to me that *gambus*, *ghazal* and *zapin* are identified with Johor just as other states have their own musical genres and instruments.[10] The popularity of traditional music is due to royal patronage. It can be attributed to Colonel Haji Musa (Pak Lomak) who is said to have been responsible for changing the Indian *ghazal* to the "Malay style".[11] This view was supported by both Pak Hassan bin Othman, a highly respected maker of the *gambus* and Fadzil Ahmad, a distinguished *gambus* performer from Malaysia.[12]

It can be argued without any doubt that *ghazal* and *zapin* are unique musical tradition of Johor and that the *gambus* can be considered a state symbol. The three most important towns associated with the *gambus* are Batu Pahat, Johor Bahru, and Muar, where some of the best *gambus* makers, performers and ensembles are located. The situation is reminiscent of New Orleans as an important centre for jazz in the early 20th century. In general, the best musicians first establish a name for themselves in Johor before moving out to the big cities outside the state, where greater employment opportunities exist for them as teachers, makers and performers.

The views expressed by Pak Hassan (maker), Fadzil Ahmad (performer) and Anis (scholar) indicated the importance of Johor for the *gambus* and its musical genres. It seems that the *gambus Hadhramaut* is mainly used in Peninsular Malaysia. The *gambus Melayu* is rarely used in the peninsula today except in *hamdolok*. However in the East Malaysian state of Sarawak and Sabah the *gambus Melayu* is more popularly used than the *gambus Hadhramaut*. Moreover, the Tourist Information Office confirms that Johor State distinguishes itself as a centre for *gambus* music and dance. It is interesting to note that pamphlets and tourist maps of Malaysia, when referring to Johor state, often have logos featuring the *gambus* and sometimes its musical ensembles printed on them. The pamphlet,

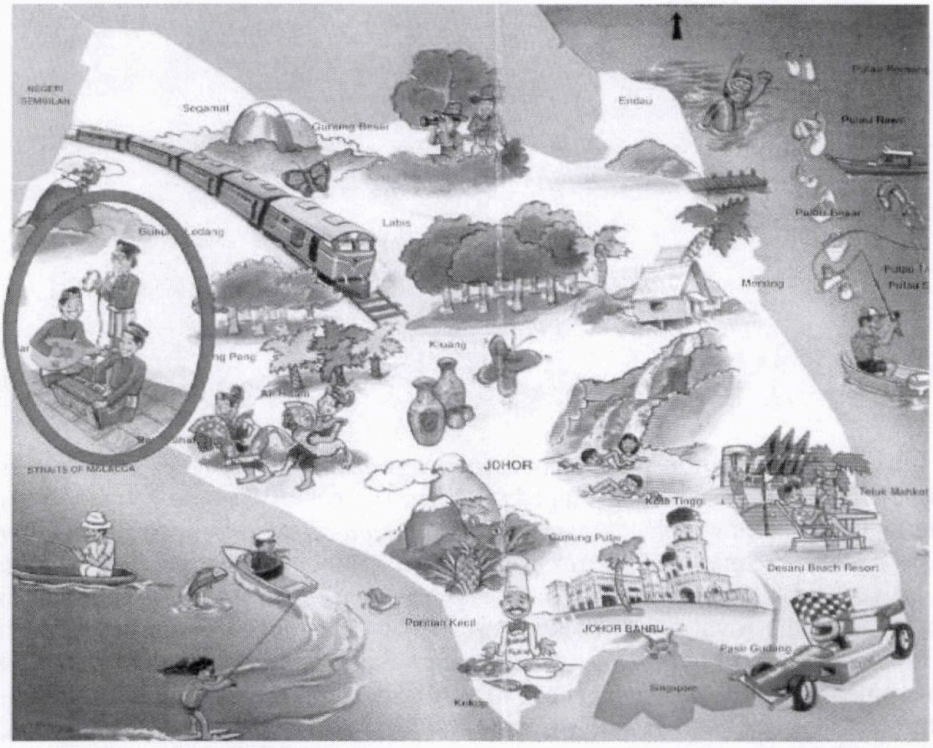
[10] Personal communication: 4th June 1998.

[11] Pak Lomak and his contributions to *ghazal Melayu* (See unpublished doctoral thesis by L.H. Francis, 2004).

[12] Pak Hassan bin Othman has been presented with many cultural awards by the Federal Government and the Sultan of Johor for his contributions to Malay music and culture.

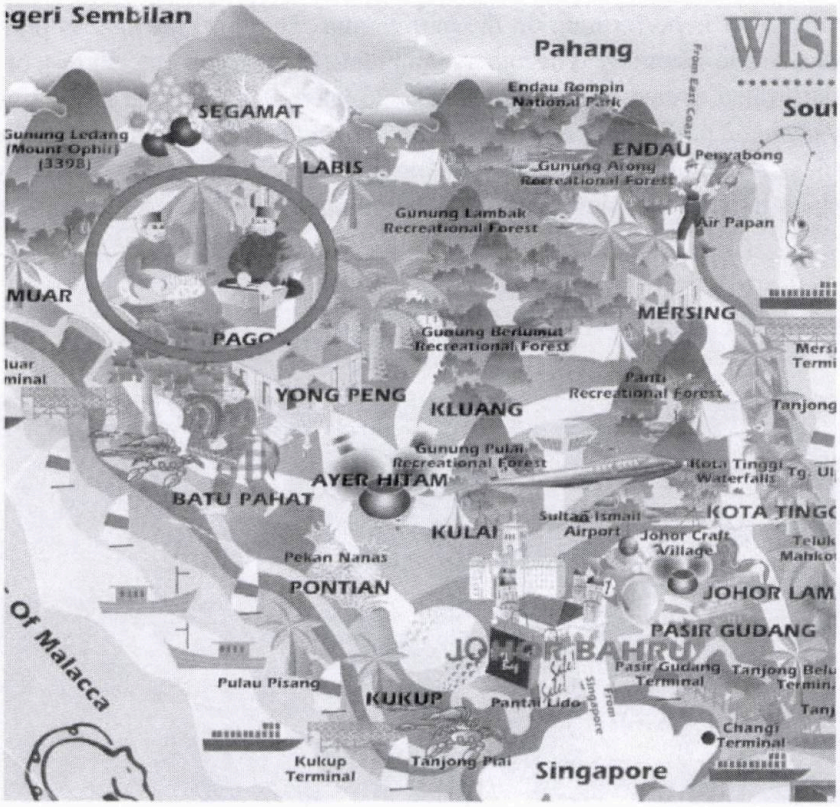
Photograph [a], below shows three male musicians (circled in red) performing. The musicians are dressed in *baju Melayu* (traditional Malay costume). Two musicians are sitting cross-legged on the floor, one of them is playing a *gambus Hadhramaut,* while the other is performing on the harmonium. The third member is playing the *kompang* while standing. The other pamphlet, Photograph [b], shows two male musicians (also circled in red) seated crossed-legged and dressed in the traditional Malay costume performing on a *gambus Hadhramaut* and a harmonium. These two examples of the tourist pamphlets showing logos representing the *ghazal* and *zapin* ensembles indicate the significance of the *gambus* and the two musical genres in Johor.[13]

Photograph [a]
Johor Tourist Map Showing
Gambus Ensemble



[13] Photograph [a] from the Department of Tourism Johor and Photography [b] was published by the Tourism Development Corporation of Malaysia Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism and printed by Inventra Print Sdn. Bhd. March 1992.

Photograph [b]
Another Johor Tourist Map Showing
Gambus Ensemble



Tourist information pamphlets mention *ghazal* ensembles as a popular art form of Johor that has been developed since the 19th century. These pamphlets also state that the *gambus* is the "king instrument" (*raja alat-alat muzik*) in these two music genres.[14] *Zapin* and *ghazal* play dual roles, being both the music of the *rakyat* (common folk) living in the *kampong* as well as entertainment for the aristocrats in the royal court. It is apparent that today Johor is consolidating its position as the centre of *gambus* music through the unyielding support of the State Government. *Gambus* music has become a symbolic representation of Johor State. In the last decade, Johor hosted many of the local and regional *zapin* and *ghazal* festivals. The venue of the festivals usually rotates each year from countries in the Malay world (*alam Melayu*). Over the years, Johor has hosted these festivals more

[14] Shiloah (1995:17) describes the '*ud* as the symbol par excellence of Arab art music, with the title "king of instruments". It is interesting to note the similar importance is given to the *gambus* in Malaysia and *alam Melayu*.

frequently than the other countries of the Malay world (*alam Melayu*). This is because of its strong economy, suitability of venue and conference facilities, its convenient location, its political security and, most importantly, Johor's present position as the centre of *Melayu* culture. The Johor state government and the *Mentri Besar* (Chief Minister) have also been enthusiastically supporting these festivals, thus further consolidating its position as an important cultural centre. On all occasions I have witnessed, the *Mentri Besar,* Encik Ghani Othman, has been the guest of honour at these festivals, which signifies the importance of such events in the promotion of Malay culture.

In 2001 Johor hosted the Malay World Arts Festival (*Festival Kesenian Melayu Sedunia*), where musicians, dancers and academics from all over the *Malayo-Polynesian* world, were invited to participate. Today, Johor is vigorously exerting its cultural role and importance in the Malay world (*alam Melayu*) as shown by the sponsorship of international festivals and seminars on Malay music and culture. One of the objectives mentioned in the programme notes for the Malay World Arts Festival 2001 was, "To introduce to the Malay world Johor's well-known arts, the *Zapin* and *Ghazal*; thus entrusting Johor to play its role as a regional centre of reference and development of Malay culture" (2001: 6).[15]

Recently, the state of Johor has been encouraging the study of traditional Malay music and dance in its schools. Many primary and secondary schools take an active part in *ghazal* and *zapin* competitions. Children in state schools are encouraged to learn traditional instruments and dance as part of their elective activities. *Zapin* festivals are held yearly as a form of inter-school competitions. There have also been a few mass music and dance camps organised for school children to attend workshops and performances of *zapin* and *ghazal*. These camps are run by various educational and cultural development organisations in collaboration with Universiti Malaya.[16] They are government initiated programmes for the revival of traditional music in Johor. Today, state patronage of traditional culture receives the full support of the *Mentri Besar* Dato Haji. Abdul Ghani bin Othman. He writes:

> The Johor State Government's viewpoint on culture is that, culture needs to be nourished and developed in line with the state development to ensure preservation of the national identity. Thus, to achieve such objectives various programmes have been planned and implemented by the State Government.[17]

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[15] *Festival Kesenian Melayu Sedunia* (Malay World Arts Festival) held from the 28th September to 7th October 2001 in Johor.

[16] Professor Mohd. Anis Md. Nor from Universiti Malaya has been instrumental in developing the *zapin* music and dance programmes. He has been also actively involved in many of the *zapin* festivals, which are held in Malaysia.

[17] *Festival Kesenian Melayu Sedunia* (Malay World Arts Festival) held from the 28th September to 7th October 2001 in Johor.

The State Government of Johor hopes to perpetuate cultural and musical practices by the establishment of community music associations such as Yayasan Warisan Johor. This is one of the few places in Malaysia where traditional music and dance is taught with the financial support of the state. Today in Malaysia there is an unofficial consensus that the *gambus* is considered as a traditional instrument of Johor. It can be concluded that traditional music activities have in recent years actually begun to thrive because of the associations with renewed feelings of national pride and cultural identity in modern Malaysia.

THE FUTURE OF *GAMBUS* AND OTHER JOHOR MUSICAL PRACTICES IN THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL CULTURE

"Issues of cultural identity seem likely to constitute some of the major problems confronting humanity in the twenty-first century" (Baily: 1994: 45). Baily's research on the development of Afghan national identity show many parallels with Malaysia. He suggests that the role of music in the creation of an Afghan national identity is but one part of a wider pattern of musical change related to processes of modernism and modernisation in Afghan history. Analogies could also be made to the development of Afghan *rubab* (plucked-lute) as a national instrument, the same way the *gambus* is identified with Malaysia.[18] Gellner has defined this concept of "nation" in the following terms:

> Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating (1988:7).[19]

With Malaysia, its problems are complicated by the heterogeneous composition of the population. Malaysia is a classic "plural society", with various ethnic groups who for many centuries maintained more or less separate social-cultural systems, education (in Chinese or Indian languages) and ethnic identity.[20] In the 20th century, Malaysia faced different challenges, especially with migrant labourers brought from China and India by the British. These have over the years upset the indigenous balance, leading to the development of a pluralist society.

Before Malaysia gained its independence in 1957, Malay culture and music were dominated by traditional and folk art, often with a regional (pan-Malay and Islamic) or local flavour with modernised and syncretic variations on traditional themes. Most of these songs had local and multicultural themes with popular

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[18] "The Role of Music in the Creation of an Afghan National Identity, 1923-73" (Baily, 1994:45-60).

[19] See Ernest Gellner in *Nations and Nationalism*.

[20] *Bahasa Melayu* is the main language spoken in Malaysia with English as the next most important language.

Western musical instruments. Some Malay songs were adopted from Indian, Chinese, European and Latin American tunes. The dance movements had influences from Indian, Chinese and Western dance forms. In the search for a regional *Melayu* identity expressed through music and traditional instruments, a new cultural assertiveness has emerged founded on notions of *Melayu*ness and Islam as their primary source of inspiration.

The post-colonial years witnessed considerable economic growth and movement towards the creation of a national culture. However, there were also continuing problems, including political tension (separation with Singapore), communal problems (racial riots), socio-economic inequalities, regional insurgencies and confrontations with Indonesia, religious fundamentalism and communist insurgency. The most serious problem Malaysia faced was the fragile composition of its ethnic population. The strong distrust on the part of indigenous Malays towards the "alien" communities in Malaysia led to many racial riots in the 1960's. Rapid economic development brought peace, stability and unity amongst the various ethnic groups and this temporarily solved the problems confronting issues of race and religion in multi-cultural Malaysia. The questions of national identity and Malay heritage were constantly debated.

Smith (1991) argues that national identity comprises both a cultural and political identity. He argues that national identity and nation are complex constructs comprising a number of interrelated components – ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic, legal and political. They signify bonds of solidarity amongst members of communities united by shared memories, myths and traditions. In the case of Malaysia, it seems that the national culture should not only emphasize the distinctiveness of the indigenous (*Bumiputera*) identity but also include the harmony of the migrant societies of the Chinese and the Indian population. As Zain Ismail states:

> Firstly, it is a matter of symbolic importance for a new nation to assert its identity in the family of nations. Secondly, in a country with a multi-racial and multi-cultural society, more urgent is the need to have a national and common culture for purposes of national unity (1977:1).

The government was cautious when dealing with the idea of assimilation or transforming everyone into "Malay"; instead, it has integrated all the main ethnic groups into adopting the language (*Bahasa Melayu*) and cultural traditions of the "*Melayu* people". On the contrary, Dr. Burharuddin in the 1950's assured all Malaysians of migrant background that they can also acquire *Melayu* nationality through a practice termed as "*Jadi Melayu*" (become *Melayu* or "*Masuk Melayu*"[become *Melayu*]).[21] He argues that those who have changed their

[21] Dr.Burhanuddin Helmy Mohd., could have become the first Prime Minister of Malaysia if the Japanese had not surrendered so suddenly in August 1945 (Mutalib, 1993:24). Also see Kim (2001: 187-202).

nationality by adopting Malay culture have transformed their original identity into Malay identity and therefore qualify as Malays.

The search for national identity based on indigenous musical culture (*Bumiputera*) gives a new meaning to the recent development of blending traditional Malay and popular music. Lehr (1983) underlines the potential importance of music in promoting national identity. In the search for a national music, the *gambus* and its musical genres can be seen as portraying both *Melayu*ness and also a Malaysian identity that would represent the people of all ethnic groups living in Malaysia. This study has shown that *zapin, ghazal, kuda kepang* and *hamdolok* are considered as an expression of both local (Johor) as well as national music, together with the *gambus* as one of the symbolic representations of national identity.

The new Malaysian identity in the 1990's espoused in the *Rukunegara* (Article of Faith of the State) was based on Malay language and culture, incorporating aspects of the migrant cultures. As emphasized by the government, it seems that the urgency for the creation of a national musical culture is fundamentally important to the nation's development. My study shows that the development of Malaysia's national music and culture takes the form of a distinctive Malay popular music that incorporates many traditional musical elements and the use of traditional instruments. Malay popular music industries developed and new styles proliferated, largely imitating Western popular music with Malay traditional music elements. I conclude that the blending of traditional and popular music plays an important role in the development of a national Malay music.

Another factor that has contributed to the development of a national music is the school education programme. Efforts to boost the teaching of traditional music in schools have featured the participation of children of non-Malay background and from non-Malay schools (i.e. not *Madrasah* or Malay medium school) in the *zapin* and *ghazal* competitions held annually in Johor. Chopyak (1987: 451) mentions that the success in reaching the goal of establishing a cultural identity through music education programmes especially among the current generation of school children seems to have produced a more unified musical identity than that experienced by their parent's generation. Only with this development of cross-cultural participation can the *gambus* and its musical genres and dance be truly representative of Malaysian identity, cutting across racial, religious and cultural divisions.

In this new millennium, despite many unresolved "racial issues", the new Malaysian identity is based on the use of the Malay language and culture, yet has also incorporated aspects of the other migrant cultures. In conclusion, the importance of the role, status and the representation of the *gambus* within the Malaysian musical heritage is slowly emerging, as the *gambus* is used in both Malay traditional and Malaysian popular music. The *gambus,* because of its versatile role, is a significant factor in the blending of traditional music into the

popular style, recognizable as being Malaysian in its musical characteristics. All these musical and cultural elements are part of the process of developing a national musical culture, incorporating Johorian musical practices with Malaysian identity that may be a potent unifying factor towards the development of a national music.

CONCLUSION

Music plays an important part in Muslim/Malay society and traditional music continues to function in the normal everyday life of most people in the State of Johor. Musicians are paid for performing at weddings, religious ceremonies and in public performances. The status of traditional musicians is still ambiguous, however, and economically, traditional performers have never commanded a good income in Malay society. The traditional musicians are usually semi-professional musicians and need to attend to their daily tasks first before music making, as it has always been a part-time work affair. However, more recently, the importance given to traditional music has added a new dimension to music, with strong cultural values attached to *gambus*, *zapin*, *ghazal*, *kuda kepang* and *hamdolok*. It seems that under the impact of Westernization the changes in traditional music are closely akin to the idea of developing Malay music, aligned to the Great Tradition, bestowed to Western art music.[22] This may change the way of learning the music of *zapin*, *ghazal, kuda kepang* and *hamdolok*, from oral transmission to the use of Western notational system as institutionalized music of the new era.

It seems that few young people today show much interest in traditional music such as *ghazal*, *wayang kulit*, *asli* and other traditional art forms and in recent years Islamic fundamentalism designated some of these arts as essentially pre-Islamic and hence *haram* (Lockard 1991: 43). Therefore, the place of music within Muslim/Malay society is ambiguous. Islam proscribes the use of instruments and music, but to most Muslim/Malays in Peninsular Malaysia, music is not seen as taboo. It can be argued that Islam has, since the 14th century, transformed the culture of the Malays, and that Islamic beliefs and ethos have become the foundation of their culture.

Without any doubt, Johor State surpasses other *Melayu* regions (*alam Melayu*) in terms of tradition. It has now become the torch bearer for *Melayu* culture and is respected as being the centre of the Malay world (*alam Melayu*). It can be argued that the *Melayu*ness in *zapin*, *ghazal, gambus, kuda kepang* and *hamdolok* are distinctly different from these forms in India, Persia, Arabia or Indonesia and have become a manifestation of Malay culture. There are very clear

[22] The concept of Great Tradition and Little Traditions were borrowed from the study by Redfield and Singer (1969), *The Cultural Roles of Cities*. This study propounds ideas concerning the part played by the development of urban societies, affecting the decline, adaptation and changes in cultures.

signs from the observations made by this researcher of the tremendous amount of support that has been given by Johor State in the promotion of *zapin*, *ghazal, gambus, kuda kepang and hamdolok*.

In recent years, *zapin* participants from non-Malay medium schools and colleges were well represented in *zapin* and *ghazal* competitions held in Johor. These are clear signs of the increasing interest shown in traditional Malay music and dance by non-Muslims coming from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds. These musical festivals (both local and regional) have also enhanced the prestige of Johor as the centre of *Melayu* culture and music.

Although there has been a "cross-over" of traditional musical instruments into popular culture, interest in popular culture has also affected the status of traditional music to some extent. In speaking to many young Malay singers, I found they considered traditional songs to be "old fashioned". Traditional singers rarely achieve the type of "star" status and success gained by popular singers in Malaysia, and are also aware of the remote chance of success and the difficulties to be encountered in the competitive commercial market. Younger singers and musicians tend to favour popular music for financial reasons, as it has more mass appeal than traditional music. This, in some ways, contradicts official statements about the resurgence and popularity of learning to play the *gambus*. However, according to my study, the importance of *gambus* playing is dwindling, especially amongst the younger generation. The main threat is coming from the electric guitar. The official policy may claim success in the promotion of its traditional music but the reality of its commercial accomplishment is doubtful.

Learning to play the guitar is also more popular than learning the *gambus* because of the "hero" image associated with electric guitarists. The difficulty attached to learning the *gambus* and its lack of versatility may also contribute to its decline. The unfretted *gambus* is more difficult for children and beginners to be able to pitch and play tunes correctly. Improvisation, a key element in *gambus* playing, requires a lot of maturity and musical understanding, and it takes a long time to acquire this art. The guitar takes a shorter amount of time for a beginner to strum an accompaniment or play a tune, whereas the *gambus* cannot be strummed. The guitar is also a ubiquitous instrument and can be more easily carried than the oddly-shaped *gambus*. Purchasing a *gambus* is also a problem, as they are not sold in shopping centres. But the main problem in learning the *gambus* is finding a suitable teacher. Teach-yourself guitar books are easily obtainable but do not exist for the *gambus*. These are some factors, which have contributed to the decline of interest in the *gambus*.

The decline in *gambus* learning poses a problem for the continuation of the tradition. Many expert performers and makers of the *gambus* are approaching retirement age and their knowledge of an oral tradition needs to be passed on to the younger generation. There is an urgent need to look at ways of arousing interest in the younger generation to continue the tradition, or else it will gradually disappear.

The role the *gambus* plays in Malay popular music suggests that cross-over may be its only chance of maintaining its importance and survival.

In conclusion, it seems that the continuity of traditional music and dance through school education programmes is being perpetuated for the survival of the Malay cultural heritage. The promotion of national music and culture has now gained a foothold in universities in Malaysia where students can study the performance of traditional music and also do research on various aspects of Malay traditional music, dance and drama.

Although the broad goal of fostering national identity was defined by the government, there is no clear idea of how to achieve it. It is hoped that the performances of Malay musical tradition will assist in the maintenance of Muslim/Malay values and cultural characteristics in the face of pressures from globalization and its effects on *Melayu* tradition. Hence the formulation of a national culture must accentuate the distinctiveness of the indigenous cultures (*Bumiputera*), incorporating cultural elements from the large migrant population (Chinese and Indian), amalgamated into the national identity of Malaysia.

It is justifiable to conclude that the vigorous promotion of Malay traditional music could well have the desired impact towards the development and the formation of a national culture, crossing racial, cultural and religious boundaries for all Malaysians. To say that there is a revival in traditional Malay music today may be over-emphasizing the fact, but certainly there is the awareness for a new consciousness towards the development of Johor's national music by fusing of traditional Johorian music into the Malaysian society of the twenty-first century.

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POPULAR MUSICS OF THE FINNISH ROMA

KAI ÅBERG

ABSTRACT

During the last twenty years the situation of Finnish Roma has changed drastically. The romanticized culture of exoticism has been replaced in the representation of Roma by the "culture of strengthness". It seems, that popular Finnish dance music plays an important role in this process. Since the early 1970's the label "Roma singers" has been used in the production of recordings. Nowadays Roma artists have started to become visible in Finnish popular music scene, stressing their ethnic identity. The music made or performed by the Roma has come closer to the everyday life of people. Traditionally there are two kinds of music performed by the Roma: one is musical service for non-Roma audiences, the other is music made within the Roma community (see Kovalcshik 2003, 85). Nowadays the records include many genres varying from dance music and pop to folk, music for children and religious music e.g., In this article I will concentrate on the first one: The dance music of the Finnish Roma. How the dance music performed by the Roma differs from the music of other Finns? I approached this question by using the contextual, historical, cultural and social viewpoints. The focus of this article is on Roma who work as dance musicians. For the present study, ethnographic field research was carried out among the Finnish Roma between 1994 and 2008. The methods of participant observation and the life story interviews were employed during fieldwork. During that time 600 Roma songs were recorded, hundreds of religious songs, as well as popular songs.

Key words: Finnish Roma (Kale), Dance music, Roma artists, Ethnic identity.

INTRODUCTION

Applied ethnomusicology has a special relevance for studies on music and minorities. Roma are the minority par excellence[1], having no nation state anywhere in the world. Roma are usually discriminated against wherever they live; at the

[1] I use here the term Roma because it is of a politically and ethnically correct discourse. Roma is also primarily used in media texts about Roma singers in Finland and also at an official public level elsewhere in Europe (see also Slavkova 2007, 205).

same time they are often praised for their musical skills. Ethnomusicologist Carol Silverman, for example, describes this socio-political phenomenon in the Balkans: "In fact, most Balkan non-Roma do value Rom musical abilities while simultaneously discriminating against them as a people" (Silverman 1996, 237; for Austria, Hemetek 2006, 41, for Romania, Marian-Bălaşa 2004). This holds true for Finland as well. The cultural situation of the Finnish Roma in Finland is still far from stable (in the end of 2000 the Finnish Roma, Kale population was about 10 000 but there are approximately 3000 Finnish Roma who live in Sweden). Yet, their status has increased considerably, a process that should be linked also to the contemporary development of popular dance music. As it is well known, music interacts with the "local structure of feeling", thus the living together and gathering that is occasioned by music influence the entire web of social connection. Today, Roma popular dance music also penetrates all the other layers of the Finnish society.

Today, Roma's history and culture are a major topic of debate, discussion and evaluation in Finland. Finish Roma are seeing minority rights, redress wrong deeds, and benefit from political representation in the government. However, commercial media, with a bow to political correctness here and there, for the most part continues to indulge the stereotypes related to "Gypsies" (Malvinni 2004, 203; Åberg 2006). All this is, perhaps, nowhere better illustrated than in popular/dance music marketing where Roma artists are a kind of exotic category. Music, it has been illustrated, can bond displaced peoples, effectively bridging the geographic distance between them and providing a sense of shared collective identity articulated by a symbolic sense of community (see Bennet 2004, 4). For me the music systems are integral with the cultural ones and cannot not be understood apart from them, like John Blacking (1967, 191-198) writes. What it comes to identity, the emphasis lies on the relationships between music and the ethnic, cultural, gender, religious (etc.) identities. I do not see the identity as essential but as constructive. With identity constructions I refer to produced and constructed identity (see Hall 1996).

In Finland Roma artists are popular, and they have a big influence on the Finnish popular music scene. Inevitable perhaps, the power that can be investigated in music as a statement of identity has also led to music becoming an instrument and expression of ethnicity. Out of all the operational structural elements of the Roma's cultural identity, the most influential, in Finland, is popular music. It operates across both ethno-communities, links Finnicism and "Gypsyism", and affects the various identity dimensions of the Finnish Roma. As a proud emblem of achievement, music is increasingly playing a significant role in the creation of the modern, trans-national Roma community. Roma singers have an opportunity to change the myth of "Gypsyism", because they cross ethnic borders and act as new channels for communication between societies.

In this article, the terms Finnish "popular music" and Finnish "dance music" are used here nearly in the same meaning (the so-called *iskelmä*, hit tunes, by popular singers). I prefer "dance music" and "dance musicians" because their meaning is closer to how the informants see their music and themselves.

Study of Romany music in Finland is relatively new. Even though, the academic recording of Roma music in Finland is relatively advanced. For example Erkki Alakönni, the first professor of Folkloristics at the University of Tampere, collected music (296 songs) amongst Roma for several years. Systematic research of Roma folk music in Finland begins in the 1960's and 1970's. In that time SKS, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society), started systemically to collect Roma music. Most of Roma music in the archives has been recorded in Southern Ostrobothnia and Southern Finland in the late 1960's and early 1970's by Finnish Literature Society. In 1972 the tape collections of the Folklore Archives contained over a hundred hours of Roma tradition and nearly a thousand songs. These songs still require further research. The fruits of this work resulted finally in the first anthology of Finnish Roma music *Kaale dzambena – Suomen mustalaiset laulavat* (1969) ("Kaale dzambena – the Finnish Gypsies Sing"). On the basis of the same material, professor Pekka Jalkanen wrote the only article that was available for many years on Finnish Roma music (Jalkanen 1976). More recent singer generations have been introduced in the collection *Luludzako drom – Finitiko romanegro dzambibi kalikos ta aka diives – Suomen romanien lauluja eilen ja tänään* (1996) ("Luludzako drom – Finitiko romanegro dzambibi kalikos ta aka diives – songs of the Finnish gypsies now and yesterday"). The album gives a comprehensive picture of both the old and the new style of Roma songs, and ways of performance. The folk songs of the Roma of Finland are today represented by the thousands on recordings in the archives of the SKS in Helsinki and Joensuu. There are also many private collections (Halmetoja; Palm; Åberg). In 2002 the first doctoral desertion of the Finnish Roma music was published *Nää laulut kato kertoo meijän elämästä – Tutkimus romanien laulukulttuurista Itä-Suomessa 1990-luvulla* (Åberg 2002; 2003; 2006)[2]. In 2004 Risto Blomster's doctoral research Finnish Roma songs was prepared (Blomster 2004)

FIELDWORK

For the present study, ethnographic field research was carried out among the Finnish Roma between 1994 and 2008. The main purpose of the research was to

[2] I have written articles about Finnish Roma and their music focusing on themes such as: traditional songs (1999a; 1999b; 2000b; 2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c; 2006a; 2006c), religious music (2002; 2004a), music and gender (1998; 2002), music and masculinity (1998; 2008), fieldwork among Finnish Roma (2002; 2005a), dance music (2000a; 2002; 2006d), Roma's "Gypsy dance" (2007b).

study Roma's traditional music (songs). The choice of the music for field research was also motivated by the aim to observe the influence of different musical styles and genres among the Finnish Roma (traditional music, religious music, and dance music). The research was conducted in different towns and villages in Finland.

My fieldwork material was gathered in the interaction between the researcher and the interviewees. Thus, the study is epistemologically based on the dialogic anthropology that goes hand in hand with hermeneutic knowledge. In the dialogic anthropology the meanings and interpretation are seen as contextual and hermeneutic (see Pool 1989, 240-241). With the concept of dialogic research I mean the different phases of my studying process: the meeting of the researcher and the informant –interview and musical interaction –, the relationship between the taped and written field material, and the written study and the reader. In addition, as a researcher I interact with other researchers, at least through their writings. The study process has been dialogic in nature as well as in the interaction between theories, concepts and cultural, social and historical factors.

This article draws primarily on methods of analysis used by ethnomusicologists, anthropologists and ethnographers of musical performances: my research relies on extensive fieldwork both as an observer and participant. The method of bimusical aspects (see Hood 1971) was used as well. I travelled and also worked over one year as a musician with Roma artists orchestra all over Finland, and documented the activities of musicians and audiences also by making interviews and recordings, taking photographs etc. So, my approach is mainly ethnographic, based on fieldwork, interviews, participatory observation, video documents, and photographs.

The informants had different educational backgrounds and they belonged to different social categories, age and gender groups. During the field research conversations were held with Roma singers who have no education at all or only have primary education; with Roma who have secondary education or people who have some musical education. The age of the interviewees extended from school pupils to elderly cohort of persons of 70 to 80 years old.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In looking at the Finnish Roma population we must bear in mind that we are talking about the very homogenous Kale population. The Roma came to Scandinavia in the early 16th century, mainly from the British Isles where Denmark had close dynastic and commercial relations. The party known as the pilgrims of Count Antonius Cagino first arrived in Copenhagen (1505), while in 1512 certain Stockholm documents refer to the same group. As elsewhere in Europe, these "pilgrims" were granted the normal hospitability but the first attempts to expel the Gypsies that had remained in the country started as early as in the 1520s (Pulma

2006, 216). Finland acquired the largest and most homogeneous Romani population, with the *Kale* population comprising groups of Roma that arrived through Sweden as early as the 16th century. In the 19th century this group was strengthened by Russian immigrants who, however, have merged with the Finnish *Kale* (Pulma 2006, 215). The Finnish Roma led the traditional way of life. In Finland, the *Kale* Roma remained the only vagabonding groups of families, with new living opportunities offered by Finland's new status as a part of Russia. The Roma earned a living mainly as horse traders and horse breeders, fortune tellers and beggars, but a consistent number of Roma men were in public employment as genitors. As long as the landless were required to have a place of service in order to get legal protection, and as a guarantee against vagrancy, many Roma also tried to acquire a lease or to buy a part of a farm to be their own. At the local level, Roma were tolerated without too many problems; their services were needed, and the most Roma families regularly travelled short distances and established routes. Notorious vagrants were only in the scarcely populated north-eastern and eastern parts of the country (Pulma 2006, 221). Because Roma refused to assimilate, keeping their rituals and lifestyle basically intact, their outsider status has remained, leaving profound marks on their culture (Malvinni 2004, ix). Finland had no real Romani policy during the first four decades of the 20th century; the poor, agricultural country became independent in 1917 and went through a devastating civil war in 1918. The Roma were far too small a group and a local problem to raise any political interest on the national level. In Roma's own narratives, the 1920s and 1930s are remembered as the "golden era", with a livelihood earned easier in the more prosperous rural areas compared to the period of structural change after in the 1940s, although the closing of the Russian border in 1918 had had an adverse impact on the life of Roma in Eastern Finland. Moreover, Finland never went through a period of racial theories and eugenics policies as other Scandinavien countries did.

During the1960's and 1970's there were some attempts at making the situation of the Romanies better by a special accommodation law. At that time also some Romany associations were established, with the purpose of improving Romany peoples' status. At the same time, Roma began to develop an ethnic music-culture from the 1970's (similar with that in Hungary, see Kovalchik 2003). However, it was only in the mid 1990's when Roma were given the constitutional right in concern with their language and culture. As it is well known, opening borders, globalisation, wars and exile increase the movement of people from one country another. During the 1990's, Finland has become more multicultural than ever before. The growing number of foreigners coming to the country has raised discussion about human rights, tolerance and discrimination. However, there is still very little information about the old minorities, such as the Roma, in the teaching materials of schools, in materials directed to different occupational groups, as well as in teachers' training (Markkanen 2003, 264–265). Roma society in Finland has

not had an "intelligentsia", highly trained persons able to write the history of their community. In the late 1980's and early 1990's the Roma have, however, become seriously interested in their history.

Nowadays, there are 10 000 Romanies in Finland and, as well as 3000 Finnish Romanies in Sweden (cf. Markkanen 2003, 262). Because the Roma refused to assimilate, keeping their rituals and lifestyle basically intact, something of an outsider status still has remained with them, leaving profound marks on their culture.

In 1940–1950 Finnish movie industry produced several films which featured Roma and "Gypsy music". Films were made by "white people" and even there were no real Roma musicians cast there, these films provided one-sided western stereotypes about Gypsies and their music, while simultaneously forgetting the sometimes harsh political and economic reality of Roma life. Here is the danger that is sometimes referred to as romanticism, often surging in the attempts at understanding Roma folks, as David Malvinni puts it (2004, 167).

Since the early 1970's the label "Roma artists" has been used in the production of recordings. This, despite the fact that the Finns who were Roma, like Olavi Virta, made recordings long before that. The first professional Roma singer was Olavi Virta. He was a great singer and a "half-Gypsy", as the media wrote (Jalkanen 1976). His singing style was "smooth and deep" After Olavi Virta, by the end of the 1960's, popular music (the so-called *iskelmä*, hit tunes, by popular singers) made by Finnish Roma established itself quite well in the entire Finish society. Since that era Roma artists' music has come closer to the everyday life of all people in Finland.

There are many political and cultural reasons which explain this phenomenon. The ethnopolitical awakening took place in all Nordic countries starting from the 1950's. The first trend was assimilation or adaptation policy but the international system, such as UN principles and European human rights conventions, laid the foundation for the Roma to be defined as an ethnic minority. However, the ethnopolitical organisation of the Roma themselves was even more significant. Only as they raised their own voice did the debate start to include the question of their spontaneous culture and language as well as the imminent need for protection (Pulma 231, 2006).

The revival of ethnicity and the universal search for roots in the 1960's and 1970's emphasised the rights of minorities, in accordance with the pluralistic ideology, to their own cultures and inherent values. Thus, Roma cultures also became valuable and in need for preservation (Kopsa-Schön 1996, 256). In this process, also the first popular Roma singers in Finland had an important role, raising the awareness of ethnic identity within the Roma group (Jalkanen 1976). In other words, it is no longer possible to think about Roma music or the music the Roma performed without considering the Roma rights movement. Such a movement is actively creating a Romany self-awareness, for which music plays an important role. Nowadays Roma culture is something the Finns are interested in,

yet it is something of the Roma's very own. Also the artists have become self-aware about how they should market their music via their cultural background and the stereotypes related to Roma exoticism.

BANDS AND THEIR REPERTOIRES

The popular music of Finnish Roma artists is most typically performed by a band with drums, electric bass, electric guitar, and keyboards. In Roma artists' band the sound varied from style to style. The most popular background sound is very conservative, and is played by electric guitar. The orchestral sound – just like the clothing of the musicians – is smooth and clean and it is very important to keep it pleasant and not to deviate too much from the ordinary. Most of the songs that the band played were the same as the other groups also performed. For example, in 1995-2002 many of them played *Virta vie, virta tuo*, which was a big hit recorded by a Roma artist called Rainer Friman.

The songs are performed so that the audience could distinguish each style immediately. The rhythmic structure is the main element in the stylistic division; but also the melodic and harmonic structures, the instrumentation and the sound had to vary, at least from style to style (see also Suutari 2000, 316).

The construction of a five to six hour programme is based on combining different musical styles. Two pieces of similar type are always played one after the other, and during the whole evening some styles are played only once, and others more often. The idea of dividing the programme into different musical styles is common to all bands I have played with, although the concepts and definitions varied to some extend. Most of the groups play all the styles of the so-called old dance music (polkka, jenkka, humppa, waltz, tango and foxtrot). Besides these, they also have modern beat, rock and roll, disco, slow-rock and several latin styles like samba, cha cha, and bossa nova in their repertoires. Not very many, but some of the bands also play their own compositions. Almost all the songs have clear tonal harmonization and steady rhythm, and almost all of the songs are sung in Finnish.

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF DANCE MUSIC

The interaction between musicians and the audience is a very important part of the dance culture. This laid the foundation for the dynamics of the repertoires as well as the style of performances. Not only the musicians' speeches and the banter between the pieces are important, but also their clothing, general attitude towards entertaining the audience, and of course their arrangements and playing that lead to good interaction and resonance from the dancers. Generally speaking, it is

important for all the participants that the label of Finnish "Gypsiness" is apparent: this can be said in the sound of voice, sound of the band, clothing and repertoire (old dance music). The Roma artists then need to have a consensus among their own motives and the suggestions from the audience when choosing songs (or instrumentals) for the repertoire. Individual pieces may extend it, but the general contents of the events must follow the traditions of Roma dance music and keep it recognizable.

The Roma have their own traditional style of interaction within the family and kin, and this is in a way planned in advance to suit different situations (Kopsa-Schön 1996, 253). The dance music scene follows these ritual behaviour patterns, "hidden rules" which are based on Roma culture. Unless orchestras or artists break these rules, everything goes well. The "rules of the game" can be grouped under the following prohibitions and obligations:

1. Prohibitions applying to a women, mother and children; 2. Young vs. old; 3. Men vs. women; 4. Utensils, clean places, clothes and laundry; 5. Rules regarding the dead; 6. Prohibitions concerning the control and movements of the body.

All these rules are manifested in practise as avoidance, silence, respect and shame; on these rules are based the main symbolic classes in Roma society, respect for elders and ritual cleanliness.

Parents, usually singers themselves, are likely to support their children's early interest in music. Even in rare cases, when parents, for whatever reason, did not want to teach their children music, there was always some relative or friend who was willing to do it. The singers described how they had assimilated the voice production and other elements of the musical expression and style typical of the tradition – such as the stepwise melody construction, form, handling of rhythm and use of grace notes and expletives – from their parents or other close relatives. Although the vocal enculturation of the young Romanies is mainly unconscious and automatic, there is also some intentional music education. The social environment moulds the young singers' concepts of how the voice should sound in order to comply with the aesthetic ideals of Roma singing. In families where parents are recognised as notable singers special attention is paid to the vocal skills of their children.

Many cultural features and practices of the Roma manifest themselves in the performance contexts of dance music. Intersections between the performance practises of dance music and cultural structures can be found, for instance, in the respect for elders and in modesty. A rule requiring the lyrics of the songs should be sensible and honourable guarantees that the singer respects the older people. Another rule refers to the clothing, which is an important cultural sign and norm among Finnish Roma. The singer can not wear the jeans or sing without a jacket because these are not respectful towards the elders.

ETHNIC DIMENSIONS

Music unifies a group and separates different groups from each other. It gives a clear sign of difference, being different from the main population. Music also unites Roma people to the majority. The issue of uniqueness of the dance music performed by Roma came out during the interviewees, and it was identified or conceptualized in the way of performance ("melancholic", "emotional", "passionate"), song themes ("reserved lyrics"), and certain music styles (tango, waltz, and popular songs). In performance situations the ethnicity was also emphasised by dressing ("Gypsy style") and by certain popular Roma-theme songs, like *Mustalaisviulu* (Romany Violin) or *Kultaiset korvarenkaat* (Golden Earrings). In 1947 Marlene Dietrich sang this song in the character of a self-fashioned Gypsy. The lyrics of such songs contain the fairly typical "us" versus "them". And we know well, from the film music theory, that the music serves as an emotional repository of the image, and that this is privileged in terms of the meaning of the film.

Like traditional Roma songs contexts, dance music and its performances were basically masculine and stressed the respect for men. An interesting phenomenon is, however, dance music which, like religious music, enables the directing of women's and girls' "inside" music as well as outside the community. Interview descriptions concerning dancing showed that dance music, which is, in general, labelled as masculine, has its culturally respected place also for women. Finnish Roma go dancing a lot and dancing skills are highly valued.

The performers' dressing had an important role in the expression of the ethnic identity – dressing like the "white" majority tells about lost Gypsiness. It is also important to notice that even if Roma women rarely perform as dance singers, they are a visual part of dance halls contexts. The colourful and bright costumes of females give ethnic dimensions also to the artists on stage.

The texts of popular music show how the concepts 'tradition' or 'traditional' touch certain customs and behavioural norms. At the same time they emphasise otherness, the vitality of the culture that differs from the majority population. The Roma artists are aware of the attitude changes of the majority population and that Roma artists can be marketed as a valuable entity of music and culture. Bringing cultural features to the foreground creates secondary meanings to the music. The nostalgia for the freedom of life on the road is the vortex for marketing Roma artists: "It was my destiny to sing", an artist told me. When I asked where the dark singing tone comes from, he answered: "It's because of our life, you see". The message comes down to this: an oppressed minority who express its pain directly in its music: "That is why we like to sing tangos. It is a deep sea of the moods".

As David Malvinni (2004, 212) puts it: "there are many ways of imagining construction of Gypsiness". Gypsiness, however, can be defined as a set of both real and imagined ideas about Roma. Its most common topics are the road, journey, fire, and the outdoors, sensual, natural feeling of the life. Like Franz Liszt much

earlier, Finnish Roma singers still describe their musical ability, sound and voice as a dynamic relation between expressive and natural. In this sense we can use the term of micromusics. Mark Slobin (1992) defines micromusics of styles that people create coterminously with super culture. They articulate something different from the dominant style and they consciously construct their difference in music.

Nowadays, Finnish Roma perform and listen to music also as a part of the majority population. Thus, any types of popular singing, including Karaoke, are important parts of the music-culture of Roma.

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THE METAPHYSICS OF THE FOLK SONG: ACTUALIZATION OF VIRTUAL FORMS, DISAPPEARANCE OF POTENTIALITIES, AND INVASION OF NOVELTIES

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

More often than not, and under almost all traditional conditions, a sung poetic text never looks like a scholarly written poem, as a succession of new and different lines. During the singing, verses are repeated, choruses are periodically intermingled, lyrics are broken and prolonged by vowels and pauses, the whole, which is the Song, acquiring new dimensions and different structures. Structures, or architectural forms, are independent both to (poetic) text and tune, are unpredictable/inconceivable by both lyrics and melody (taken separately), have nothing to do with the conscious intention or representation of the singers themselves, and are spontaneously actualized during the singing. Due to such structuring possibilities, and using only the formal possibilities of the syntagmatic repetition (i.e. the entire verse repetition, and the strophic chorus/refrain), in Romanian traditional/folk singing a single poetic text can (at least theoretically) receive sixty-four architectural arrangements. For establishing the existence of all these architectural versions I have started from observations made by researchers in early 20th century, which noticed that Romanians had the peculiarity of singing the same verse three or four times. Whereas for later decades it was more common that verses to be repeated just once. If we logically establish all possible forms of syntagmatic repetitions we eventually obtain this sum of sixty-four variants, which constitute the equally real and virtual being of each and any folk song (cf. Marian-Bălaşa 2000, 2003). These structures and architectures were very important to the old, traditional aesthetics, and their actualization was essential especially to ceremonial repertories such as the Winter-Solstice-Songs (traditional carols). Later on, by giving up devices such as verse repetition and stanzaic choruses (refrains), and by shortening the time for performing the epic-like songs of the peasant carol, what got lost it was the immaterial aspect of unconscious constructing, the irrational yet effective re-elaboration of time, the abysmal pleasure for implied mathematics. It got lost one of the essences of both sacred and aesthetic experience, which is, experiencing the Virtual, the Potential.

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FROM AESTHETICS TO METAPHYSICS

(a) Accepting all statements expressed in the above introductory lines as basic grounds for the following discussion, (b) going much further that I went when proposing the approach of art music from metaphysical perspectives (Marian 1991, 1993), as well as (c) continuing a previous, closely related paper of mine (Marian-Bălaşa 2003) – what I will make on these pages can be called an introduction into *speculative ethnomusicology*. To put it short, after analyzing the formal/architectural variety that a melopoetic genre (common to Eastern European folk repertoires) can register, my theoretical bend will enter and reveal zones usually or typically belonging to aesthetics and philosophy proper. To be more exact, this will be an example of *applied metaphysics*. In the process, concepts will be revisited, and new grounds – be they difficult and provoking – for theorizing and understanding will be set.

Before entering the subject proper, let me discriminate between – and in the same time remind the reader about – the dominant scholarly tradition, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the discourse I am proposing now. In folk music studies and ethnomusicology it is generally said that a song is nothing else but an assemblage of music (tune) and text (lyrics). To me, this is just a reductive positivism and empiricism, enjoying a much too long, hegemonic and undeserving history. Inside the Western theory some people call *essentialism* this type of "realism", positivism and empiricism. Essentialism also kindly emphasizes, or rather suggests, the type of reductionism which characterized the communist musicological thinking – a scholarship characterized by the so-called "dialectical materialism". At this point, the Western essentialism is nothing but the Eastern materialism. If in communist states only that factual, materialistic, definitely a reductivist musicology was allowed and available, in Western, pluralist scholarship the essentialist theory is circumventing the reality in the same truncating manner. To the example just given above – the song – and especially to its divisive-analytical interpretation I oppose the thesis that, in fact, a song is composed by three distinct and distinguishable elements. There is, beside the very "material" and "essential" text and tune, a third element, too, which is immaterial, and constitutes *the spiritual foundation of music*. This element is the ultimate purpose and meaning of music. In the socio-cultural realm of music, this is reflected in and expressed through the so called "context" and "function". Materialistic/essentialist musicology and ethnomusicology also spoke at length about (socio-anthropo-cultural) context and function in music. Yet, my claim and discrimination is that context and function are realities which do not cover the whole of the object of music and performing. Therefore, and moreover, there is also another dimension, equally causal, which can be identified and called *the metaphysical realm*. Beyond text, tune, context, usage, function, the immaterial content of music should be conceptualized in an irreducible way. Yet, it requires also to be tackled without

sinking the academic discourse back into the fictional, metaphoric or symbolic narratives it departed from. However, it is interesting also the fact that a more encompassing outlook will become capable of integrating/turning that literature into scholarly knowledge.

For the time being (and this is one thing that will appear clearer only later on, during the course of this demonstration), I name this third, crucial element which defines the song and its singing, *the access to – and the manipulation and actualization of – architectural (formal/compositional) structures*. Only that with this aspect we are in the clear field of potentialities. Because, to which final shape or aspect a song will arrive at and wrap itself within in order to live (actualize and circulate), it is not only matter of stylistic, regional, local and individual choice. One has to understand that stylistic, regional, local, individual, and any other features that give particular body to a song are categories that derive from and depend on the subtler action which takes place on an ontological-metaphysical level. *The third, supreme or ultimate element and equally meaning of a folk song is its actualized, achieved corporeal/architectural potentiality*.

SUPPRESSED POTENTIALITY – DEATH OF THE ENTITY

No one, nowadays, keeps the romantic idea about folk musics and cultures as something monolithic, constant, consistent and homogeneous over centuries. And, in fact, all ways of conceiving of music tend to keep themselves away from a hierarchic, rectilinear and closed system – characterized by a gradual and irreversible accumulation of events and facts. Both musical systems and ideas/theories about music tend to behave like the folk music, in which there is an open, free, less structurable/manageable and predictable flow, with descends and ascents of actions, versions, styles and values, with multivalent identities, hybrid embodiments, and blurred margins, with enduring capacities and change vulnerability. In the following I will give a nonconventional interpretation to the question of the "rise and fall" of musical pieces, musical repertoires, genres, styles, and even entire cultures, based on a phenomenological reduction as well as on a philosophic perspective.

Somehow in contrast to the art music domain, where a musical piece presumably exists in the score format and independently to its various extemporizations, in folk music there is no independent, unique, definitively fixed, static form. Each and every performance, as long as it fits both subjective and social milieus, makes the piece, and all valid actualizations of a piece – both over the history of its existence and the geography of its circulation – constitute the being of that piece. If in art music the very existence of a musical being depends and relies on the written score, in folk music the very existence of a musical entity depends and relies on its performed versions. In art music, versions generated by

performances are just (more or less imperceptible) variables, which do not affect the real being of a music work; whereas in folk music the disappearance of variability accounts for the decay of a piece and for the possible advent of its death. Yet, variability and openness constitutes the field of virtual, potential, and the restrain of this field is what induces the ontological threat, the threat to (or lack of) existence.

Let us take the example of human life: neither the disappearance of what the human life actually is nor the disappearance of what the physical body actually possesses – it's what leads to their decrepitude and death. It is the progressive limitation of their virtual chances, the constant and increasing delimitation/separation from what the individual happened not to become, the more or less conscious selection and concentration which exclude other options, the daily choice for something precisely and in spite of (or at the expense of) something else – these are pushing the actual being toward its end. It is not the energy a body possesses that becomes fewer and fewer, but the fact that the body cannot assimilate new energies makes him weaker and weaker. And this body disappears because what is in the potential/virtual is no more available to him. He does not die because of not using what he has, but because of having no more access to what he never had yet, to what he was not (but he could be). The man does not lose the age he was, but that age he did not succeed to be, he loses the years he could have, yet failed to reach.

Things are similar with the folk song. This song has no energy or life in itself. It takes it from the exterior (i.e. from the potentiality), and reaffirms, consecrates, revivifies itself and is reborn each time it is (re)actualized through singing/playing. Its popularity, which means its potential (re)making, is its chance for survival. It takes its identity and life not from a given score, but from the virtual of its possible versions and forms. The more numerous virtual existences, performances and versions it reaches, the richer or longer its life is.

Starting from the premise – a truthful principle set by ethnomusicology – that a song is the sum total of its versions, the entire amount of its open being, as this is rendered by the totality of its countless performances, I have to stress that not only the *actual* forms and versions, obtained during real actualizations of a song, would qualify for constituting the real body or being of that song. My argument is that *potential* (or "virtual") forms also can and should be taken into account; and this even if not as "material" extemporizations but as mathematical identifications, as something that it not only was, but also as something that it could have been or it can be.

Let us remember the difficulty of stopping a folk singer during his/her performance. A peculiarity which can be explained only if one understands and accepts that the song, while sung, has its own "personality", its "will" or need to be achieved, to complete itself. Let us also remember that most carols in East European traditional settings were lasting much longer then they last nowadays. And that – another aspect I already treated (Marian Bălaşa 2000) – the carolers claimed to bring to the carol-receiver not only a projected/desired material

prosperity, but even something that in fact motivated and determined that prosperity, and that was nothing else than God himself. But God was only a name, a symbolic idea for talking about the real as both actual/experienced realities and virtual possibilities, material together with spiritual/impalpable entities. And, moreover, all subtle, gnostic and cryptic traditions imagined this God as number, order, proportions, implied mathematics, as all mathematically conceivable entities.

HOW STRIKING NOVELTIES TAKE OVER

In the field of the Romanian folk song, one of the most obvious realities is that of composing with reiterative elements. In their poetry and music, folks were fond not only of repeating smaller compositional entities but also of expanding this device as far as to repeat inside one single stanza the same melopoetic syntagmas (or lines) once, twice, and, according to what very early folklorists told us, trice. And since a poetic text was not rigidly allotted to one and the same melodic architecture, we can, theoretically at lest, formulate the entire architectural flexibility and availability of that text. For instance, just by formalizing and counting the architectural potentiality of a poetic text to be set on all the main patterns of a stanzaic melody, I arithmetically discovered that any particular text could have sixty-four formal instantiations (see Marian Bălaşa 2000, and 2003). Most of these formal versions of setting a poetic text on folk, traditional music were real, in the sense that old field collections and faithful notations were demonstrating them. Recent transcriptions documented such a form variety less and less. And, actually, they demonstrated the decrease of – or progressively shrunk – appetite for and familiarity with the potential universe of compositional availability. Not long time ago, the carol repertories were a living source of experienced sacredness; but during the last six decades they too joined the funds of just secular, recreational, entertaining and festivalized items, of a more or less artificially reconstructed folkloric/folkloristic culture. Their symbolic "decadence" went hand in hand with the architectural rigidization, consisting in the disappearance of the most numerous architectural variants which were available to the older ways of conceiving of music (which was that of constructing with reiterative melopoetic elements). Today there is no more virtual freedom in computing with those melopoetic units, therefore a disappearance of the constructivist spirit is also characteristic for the dieing out process which characterizes the present.

Both poetic verses and melodic lines are temporal units; and it is beyond doubt that building with temporal units, actualizing temporal units (under the form of melopoetic lines), and thus experiencing with this temporal constructing, this was one of the real – yet metaphysical – reasons of the song and singing. What happened in the last five-eight decades in the real performance of folk songs is that

the *combinatorial potential* started to die. Musical traditions are perceived less and less sacred because – speaking in mythological terms – the sense of God died out. Secularization and musealization of folk culture express themselves also through the fact that traditional songs have less and less *architectural potential*, and, prior to vanishing, they register more and more static and simpler compositional forms. The poverty of the *real* is caused by the weakness and damage of the *virtual*. It is the disappearance of that *virtual* (computationally reconstructible) world which endangers the existence of real entities. Moreover, between the real forms of a musical being and those potentialities of its own, a wider and wider gap takes place. And it is this gap which will be filled with novelties, I mean with musical beings coming from outside the genuine tradition, bringing in reformulating influences, disintegrating forms, and new styles and repertoires to be assimilated. A musical culture, and in fact any type and form of culture, opens up itself to strong, completely new, exotic novelties *only* after its virtual – i.e., imaginary/subconsciously creative – capacities pass away. The blank space left is not in the realm of the real (actual), but in the potential. *The lack of virtual objects makes room for actual novelties.*

BACK TO ANTHROPOLOGY (APPLIED METAPHYSICS)

In order to demonstrate that this metaphysical law acts in all fields of culture I shall give here only two examples. One is that of ethnic minorities in Europe and one is that of linguistic loans and changes. As it is well-known, national purity was one of the most important and constant problems among European nations. The equally immediate and radical answer to this problem was, alas!, ethnic cleansing, transfer or genocide. Dominant nations took the bother of purifying themselves in more or less violent ways, and by eliminating the "natural" diversity they had inside their own territory they never arrived at enjoying an alleged superiority. In the contrary, they faced more radical, dangerous challenges. The lack of inner diversity was quick supplanted by much alien incomings, insertions, infiltrations, affiliations, and influences. There is a space of openness, of real as well as potential diversity, which, unprotected, limited/restricted, or erased, leaves a very sensitive/vulnerable empty space: A space available to whatsoever. Just see the irony with the European peoples, unsatisfied with the presence of Jews and Gypsies inside their own nations, and who must cope now with the fecundating migration of Middle-East and Far-East peoples. Unsympathetic racial discourses are ceasing only because, nowadays, Europeans realize that multiracial or at least multinational cohabitation is unavoidable and somehow necessary. Chasing the diversity at hand brings empty but magnetic spaces: these will be filled with unexpected objects. If not sameness, something else (unpredictable otherness) will surely come, mix, perhaps take over, reason why people should not fight against what is *possible* within. The domestic, internal, "needed", somehow stabilizing, diversity is a sign of achieved potentiality.

Another illustration is served by many modern languages, which "naturally" suffered the influence of more or less neighboring idioms. Yet, in an idealistic/romantic but useless and even counterproductive enthusiasm, some political minds set up for protecting their national languages and called for safeguarding (read purifying) their languages by expelling foreign words or at least protecting them from exogenous influences. Rigid and aseptic languages and speech forms were thus released and imposed. Lacking tones and shades of vital lubricity, they soon became boring or unappealing. And it did not take too long for the opposite process to be observed: coming from the underground of vernacular, living, colloquial speech, fecundated by marginal jargons, those national languages started to look more bizarre than before the antipollution campaign. Let me evoke with more exactness the Romanian only, which is a language of an always proclaimed and protected oldness, as well as Latin "purity" (actually, alleged hegemony), whereas in fact it has always been open to influences. External or co-habiting "enemies" (Slavs, Turks, Hungarians, Russians) have left many marks and linguistic elements in it; apparently influential neighbors (South-Slavs, such as Bulgarians and Serbs) have lent it countless items; "domestic aliens", or inner "others" (Gypsies), have always spiced it effectively. In the 1990s, after decades of ignoring and fighting against the Gypsy identity and influence, the Romanian language becomes at least very permissive, if not very eager to incorporate, however hospitable, to features, expressions and words which come from the most Gypsy, illiterate, porn, and interlope repertoires (see also Leschber 1994, Marian-Bălaşa 2002, 2004). Of course, purist intellectuals will fight against this invading otherness, thus widening the gap between the official, literary and academic language, on the one hand, and the real, spoken language on the other. Yet, real folks do not bother because of this schizophrenia: they enthusiastically accommodate the slang words of the Otherness. The sung poetics of new popular musics in Romania elaborates, develops and demonstrates this fact with ironic brilliance.

To remain in the realm of music, I would give a similar, more striking example, from the same (Romanian) culture. In the 1990s, on the market of the folk music consumption a radically new genre has emerged, and soon it has intensively and extensively conquered this market to an unforeseeable or unimaginable extent: the urban young Gypsies' genre called *manea* (plural, *manele*). This genre has reached an incredibly vast popularity, most of all rural-minded Romanian people cherishing it with passion. The reason has not been only that this both oriental and simplistic style is vivid, magnetic, closer to contemporary themes, issues, interests and fashions, but also that the much too long and saturated period of fakelore, rigid folklorism, and excessive festivalization has killed the capacity of the traditional folklore to grow, develop, vary, perform and exploit its inner potential.

To some extent, this is what John Blacking assumed: "If a shared situation becomes static or formalized, or disintegrates altogether, it follows that creativity

will tend to dry up, and it will become increasingly hard for members of a society to adapt to the changes that must result inevitably from the birth, life, and death of its individuals" (Blacking 1995: 107).

Now, coming back from where I started, I would like to stress and summarize by resuming: not only what is sung is important. What is not – or no more – sung (whereas it was or just could have been sung), is equally important. What disappears will not only manifest itself no more, but will also make room for the arrival of something unpredictable. It is the novelty which comes with a wider baggage of potentialities, and whose strength is not so much in the real products which will be transmitted, actualized/materialized, but in the capacity of offering virtual forms. By saying all these I also made clear, I suppose, that the perspective for interpretation I displayed here is capable of opening a fruitful path for unconventional approaches, thus for a larger understanding.

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GIOVEDÌ SANTO E I FUOCHI DEI MORTI (ANALISI DEL CASO: MORFOLOGIA DELL'USANZA IN BANATO)

OTILIA HEDEŞAN

I DATI DEL PROBLEMA. UN PO' DI BIBLIOGRAFIA

"Giovedì Santo è considerato dai romeni un giorno benefico e a difesa dei morti. Secondo le loro credenze e i loro detti, [...] i morti ritornano ogni anno in questo giorno alle loro vecchie case, dove aspettano fino a sabato, prima delle Pentecoste [...]. Poiché di Giovedì Santo, quando arrivano i morti, non fa così caldo da poterlo trascorrere in ogni luogo, affinché questi non abbiano freddo, è d'uso dappertutto [...] fare la mattina o la sera di questo giorno nel cortile o nell'atrio della casa fuochi per i morti, così che possano riscaldarsi e avere luce" (Marian 1899 [2001]: 190). Con questa frase, Simion Florea Marian, il più zelante raccoglitore e archivista delle usanze romene a cavallo fra i secoli diciannovesimo e ventesimi iniziava la descrizione delle pratiche popolari che si svolgono nei villaggi romeni il giovedì della Settimana Santa (*Săptămâna Mare*). Troppo sommarie per offrire un'immagine fedele delle usanze e delle credenze legate ai fuochi del Giovedì Santo destinati ai morti; troppo generalizzanti, poiché, mentre è molto importante in alcune regioni (Muntenia, Oltenia, Banato), l'usanza è sconosciuta nel resto del territorio abitato dai romeni; eccessivamente esclusiviste per le spiegazioni avanzate[1], che hanno tuttavia il merito di aver collocato i *fuochi*

[1] Nel sistema tradizionale romeno, il giorno del Giovedì Santo comporta molti percorsi rituali principali. In primo luogo, così come indica anche il nome, esso è una componente di un intervallo molto intenso sotto l'aspetto della sacralità cristiana, quella della settimana che anticipa la Pasqua, chiamata in romeno *Săptămâna Mare*. A tal proposito, nella sera del Giovedì Santo, gli uomini partecipano, in numero impressionante, al servizio liturgico (*denie*), assistendo alla lettura dei *Dodici Vangeli (Douăsprezece Evanghelii)*. Durante la messa, tuttavia, e parallelamente a questa, hanno luogo una serie di pratiche popolari che fanno riferimento alla sfera della piccola magia: si fanno dodici nodi ad una correggia – uno durante ogni *Vangelo* – e ciò è un rimedio per la malaria; le ragazze fanno dodici nodi ad una corda e poi, a casa, dormono con quella corda sotto il cuscino e

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 217–235, Bucureşti, 2007

del Giovedì Santo nell'ambito delle usanze – punto di riferimento non solo per i calendari popolari regionali ma anche in una lista generale delle pratiche tradizionali romene importanti ed interessanti sia nella loro esteriorità che nella loro profondità. Tuttavia, esse non sono state sufficienti per propulsare il soggetto fra quelli attentamente osservati e rigorosamente descritti. Su questo sfondo, l'analisi del caso che propongo, analisi che si focalizza sui *fuochi del Giovedì Santo* destinate ai morti del Banato, presenta poche fonti bibliografiche. Si tratta, in primo luogo, di informazioni molto lacunose abbozzate nei loro scritti, nel corso del XIX secolo, da una serie di piccoli intellettuali locali che iniziarono ad interessarsi, da dilettanti, delle tradizioni popolari. Così, in una vera pagina da manuale (Stoica de Haţeg 1830 [1984]: 151), si riporta: "Il mercoledì prima del Giovedì Santo, i giovanotti e le fanciulle vanno a raccogliere ramoscelli di nocciolo, per cuocere l'indomani le ciambelle". Mezzo secolo più tardi[2], Simion Mangiuca annotava, in modo più coerente e, in ogni caso, in maniera più attenta alle fasi dell'usanza: "Giovedì Santo (*Joimari*): a questo giorno sono legate le seguenti usanze e credenze: a. allestimento dei fuochi (*luminişte*) presso i sepolcri dei defunti della famiglia; b. invocazione e arrivo dei morti della famiglia; c. si versa l'acqua dei morti sul prato; d. distribuzione di quaranta ciambelle ai morti" (Mangiuca 1883: 7).

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potranno sognare il promesso sposo; le donne accendono ognuna un grano di incenso alla lettura di ogni Vangelo, poi portano a casa i resti che, si crede, proteggeranno la casa dai fulmini, dalle saette e dalla grandine (Marian 1899 [2001]: 200). Nello stesso ingranaggio, quello dei cerimoniali pasquali, si inscrive anche il fatto che, secondo la tradizione, questo è il giorno più adatto per dipingere le uova. In secondo luogo, il Giovedì Santo è un termine simbolico estremamente importante per un'intera suite di lavori domestici, che per lo più riguarda la sfera e le competenze femminili. Per questo, entro tale data, deve essere terminata la pulizia annuale della casa (la casa viene imbiancata, così come, anche, tutti gli alberi del giardino di ciliegio o della strada), e le donne devono terminare di filare tutta la produzione di quell'anno. L'immaginario popolare ha marcato queste tradizioni attraverso un personaggio potente, un piccolo demone che appartiene alla categoria di quelli che fungono da veri guardiani dei lavori tradizionali. Si tratta di *Joimăriţa*, su cui uno dei più prolifici recensori della mitologia tradizionale romena scriveva, all'inizio del ventesimo secolo: "Su *Joimăriţă, Joimariţă* o *Joimărică* si crede che [...] sia una donna vecchia e brutta come la morte, spettinata e con i denti ringhiosi, che viene e taglia le dite o frigge le unghie a quelle ragazze pigre che nella notte di Giovedì Santo vengono da lei sorprese con la canapa ancora non filata" (Pamfile 1914 [1997]: 97). In fine, e in terzo luogo, il Giovedì Santo è la soglia del ciclo della vita e della morte, nel senso che in questo giorno hanno luogo, in alcune regioni, brevi ma violenti momenti di rappresentazioni carnevalesche in pubblica piazza di tutto ciò che di riprovevole era accaduto nella comunità nell'ultimo anno (Marian 1899 [2001]: 201 – 204), mentre, sempre in tal giorno, si crede che si aprano le porte dell'aldilà, del regno dei morti, e che le loro anime possano ritornare, come spiriti benigni, nel mondo terreno da questo momento fino alle Pentecoste.

[2] Fra queste due date, su *Joimari* abbiamo riferimenti anche nel celebre libro dei fratelli Schott, *Walachische Maerchen*, tuttavia, per motivi che deliberatamente non considero in questa sede, qui, l'accensione dei fuochi di *Joimari* non viene ricordata, ma si scrive solamente: "Le *jeudi* (*joi*, c'est-à-dire *jovis dies*) est, depuis le Grand Jeudi ou Jeudi Vert jusqu'à Rosalia, la Pentecôte grecque, sanctifié et fêté en l'honneur du dieu de la foudre, Jupiter [...]"(Schott 1845 [1982]: 257).

Appena un altro mezzo secolo, quando lo studio delle tradizioni popolari divenne appannaggio degli specialisti e venne intrapreso anche da una serie di istituti di prestigio (fra cui, in primo luogo si trovava, allora, l'Accademia Romena), sono stati pubblicati anche i primi racconti di contadini che fanno riferimento alla tradizione di accendere fuochi per i morti, il Giovedì Santo; racconti che insinuarono l'idea della varietà strutturale della pratica. Così l'eminente etnologo e dialettologo Emil Petrovici segnalava, solo nel caso dei villaggi di Valea Almăjului, due tipi di simili pratiche. Per prima: "*La Joimari face grămezi micutele şi le-aprinde şi le dă foc. Şi câţi morţi ai, atâtea focuri faci la cimitir şi le dai de pomană mortului. Şi se duc şi duc colaci, muierile, atunci, şi cu lumini*"[3]; e poi: "*La Joimari se face foc... Se scoală de dimineaţă, de la trei, şi se face foc în grădină, pentru morţi. Şi se aduce apă şi se varsă acolo, pe iarbă verde, spre uşurarea morţilor. Şi la cimitir se face foc şi se duc şi lumânări, se tămâiază şi se varsă apă pe mormânt*"[4].

Infine, neanche il periodo postbellico offre molti riferimenti a tal riguardo. Collocata in un giorno essenziale del calendario religioso, la pratica si è sviluppata con discrezione, ricostruendosi e reinventandosi fra l'apparente persecuzione e indifferenza delle autorità[5]. I ricercatori non gli hanno dedicato studi speciali, forse perché un testo che contenga, nel titolo, la parola *Joimari* (o una parola equivalente ed eufemistica della stessa, ma un testo che, con sicurezza, non avrebbe potuto evitare un riferimento alla festa fondamentalmente cristiana della Resurrezione del Salvatore) rischiava di cadere troppo facilmente nelle mani della censura ideologica. Fa da contrappeso a ciò il fatto che, tuttavia, in questo periodo sono stati registrati, per l'Archivio di Folclore dell'Università di Timişoara, dieci ore di descrizioni e discussioni libere sull'usanza[6] e sono state realizzate – anche se in condizioni speciali, solo per argomentare l'importanza di archiviare l'usanza e per quello che si chiamava "il circuito interno", cioè per gli studenti e per la cerchia di specialisti – i suoi primi filmati. Vasile Creţu e Sandu Dragoş hanno filmato, nel

[3] [Di Giovedì Santo si fanno piccoli mucchietti, si accendono e gli si dà fuoco. Si fanno tanti fuochi tanti quanti sono i propri morti al cimitero e si offre un obolo al morto. E le donne si recano al cimitero, portando ciambelle e candele] (Petrovici 1935: 44).

[4] [Il Giovedì Santo si allestiscono i fuochi... Ci si alza il mattino alle tre e si fa il fuoco in giardino, per i morti. E si porta dell'acqua e la si versa là, sul prato, per dar sollievo ai morti. Anche al cimitero si fanno i fuochi e si portano candele, si dà con l'incenso e si versa acqua sulla tomba] (Petrovici 1935: 44).

[5] Nei fatti, il trattamento ufficiale non è mai coinciso con quello privato. A Ciclova Română, per esempio, la moglie del segretario di partito non ha smesso mai di accendere i fuochi per i morti della famiglia „poiché i morti aspettano, signora" e affinché il proprio marito non venisse chiamato a risponderne presso i superiori trovava motivi per farlo allontanare dalla località nella notte rispettiva. Informazione sul terreno: Elena Grozav, 57 anni, registrazione del 27 marzo 1990.

[6] Tutto ciò è stato deposto e viene conservato presso l'Archivio di Folclore dell'Università di Timişoara.

1971, la pratica, a Mehadica (Creţu, Dragoş 1971)[7]; un decennio più tardi la stessa è stata registrata, da un'altra squadra, a Macovişte (Creţu, Ionică 1983); all'inizio degli anni novanta, da poco arrivata allo stesso archivio, ho deciso, insieme al mio collega, l'antropologo visuale Lucian Ionică di utilizzare l'ultima pellicola di 16 mm che avevamo ancora a disposizione per realizzare un nuovo filmato dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo, ma questa volta, a Ciclova Română (Hedeşan, Ionică 1991)[8].

In conclusione, mi è impossibile non constatare che, nonostante sia stato trattato in maniera piuttosto passeggero, il soggetto dei *fuochi del Giovedì Santo (focurile de Joimari)* dedicati ai morti è uno che può essere documentato (per quanto riguarda la regione che mi interessa) per una profondità di almeno due secoli. È vero che a questo soggetto si sono dedicati – in un modo o in un altro – in modo prioritario gli intellettuali del Banato e, salvo rare eccezioni, ha puntato, ugualmente, ad un pubblico regionale; questo fatto ha contribuito, secondo me, anche alle principali lacune della sua trattazione: l'usanza era troppo nota agli abitanti locali a cui si parlava di essa e troppo estranea per coloro che non erano della regione; nel primo caso, l'implicito culturale escludeva i dettagli, nel secondo caso, per quanto fossero stati forniti molti dettagli, essi risultavano insufficienti per comprendere.

LA MORFOLOGIA DELL' USANZA ATTUALE

L'osservazione attenta dell'usanza porta a constatare una variabilità strutturale chiara, che si manifesta, tuttavia, senza una delimitazione rigida e a dispetto della sua unità semantica eccezionale[9].

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[7] Ecco il riassunto del filmato: "Vengono continuate le riprese del 1968 (*Bradule, brăduţule* [Oh abete, abetello]) e del 1969 (*Soare, soare* [Sole, sole]), realizzate presso la famiglia di Iosâm Gaita, dopo la dipartita di quest'ultimo. Di Giovedì Santo la donna prepara delle ciambelle da dare in offerta. Si reca al cimitero la notte precedente, portando in una bisaccia le ciambelle e le candele, e in mano rametti di nocciolo (che non sono stati poggiati a terra da quando sono stati raccolti) e dà con l'incenso. Quindi porge in offerta le ciambelle sulle tombe" (Hedeşan, Ionică 1998: 145).

[8] Ecco il riassunto del filmato: "Elena Mândroane, di settantanove anni, prepara il mercoledì prima di Pasqua, tutto il necessario per fare, a mezzanotte le *luminişte*. Dopo aver finito i lavori domestici quotidiani (filare, dar da mangiare agli animali), lei raccoglie rametti di noccioli, impasta e cuoce le ciambelle per l'offerta, prepara lo zaino con il quale si recherà al cimitero. Prima di mezzanotte accende nel cortile tre piccoli fuocherelli (*luminişte*), intorno a cui gira tre volte con tizzoni del focolaio di casa (le *meneşte:* li dedica/li consacra ai morti). Parte per la volta del cimitero, dove, vicino alle croci dei defunti di famiglia, accende due *luminişte* e, mentre questi bruciano, gira per tre volte intorno alle tombe, *menind (consacrandoli ai morti)*. Offre per obolo ciambelle ad un bambino e ad un'anziana" (Hedeşan, Ionică 1998: 157).

[9] A tal proposito, anche sovrapponendo la variabilità tipologica dei fuochi di *Joimari* destinati ai morti alla suddivisione spaziale dei diversi tipi di fuochi rituali che sono accesi durante la primavera in Banato, farò notare somiglianze con molte tradizioni primaverili esistenti in Europa, usanze le cui mappe sono praticamente, inspiegabili. In tal senso, Van Gennep scriveva: "Ce «tour de France» permet de tracer une ligne de démarcation relativement nette et dont les enquêtes ultérieures pourront mieux préciser les sinuosités. Elles sont, dans l'état actuel de notre science, encore inexpliquées" (Van Gennep 1943 [1998]: 847).

Il primo tipo strutturale – riscontrato a Mehadica e Ciclova-Română[10] – ha due sequenze principali. Per prima cosa, in piena notte (in un momento che varia in funzione delle convenzioni famigliari, fra mezzanotte e il crepuscolo), la donna più anziana della casa accende in cortile un numero variabile e inspiegato di piccoli fuochi di arbusti secchi o di rametti di nocciolo, chiamati *focurele, joimărele* o *luminişte*. Mentre questi bruciano e illuminano, la donna gli gira intorno in un modo speciale: tiene nella mano destra una pentola piena di tizzoni del focolaio (oggi del fuoco domestico) di casa, sopra cui è messo dell'incenso e che viene mossa, ruotandola da destra verso sinistra; nel contempo, lei consacra (*meneşte*) i fuochi, cioè pronuncia una formula speciale che dedica ai morti della famiglia. Dopo aver ripetuto questo rituale per tre volte, la donna offre come obolo delle ciambelle o – nella variante attuale, cornetti comprati all'alimentare – ai bambini di casa. La seconda fase, immediatamente successiva alla prima, ha luogo nel cimitero, presso le tombe di famiglia. La stessa attante, la donna di casa, accende anche qui un fuoco – uno solo, indifferentemente dal numero di tombe. Benché oggi degli individui mi abbiano rivelato una serie di maniere ingegnose ed efficienti di accendere il fuoco – si utilizzano sia fiammiferi, sia cenere imbevuta di petrolio portata in scatole di conserve, sia piccoli pezzi di caucciù[11] –, la tradizione valorizza positivamente il fuoco che viene acceso con brace portata da casa. Anche in questo contesto, la donna gira intorno alle tombe dei cari e strega i fuochi, poi mette come offerta, sulle tombe, ciambelle e candele.

Il secondo tipo strutturale – attestato a Macovişte e Osnicea[12] – presenta anche esso una bipartizione. Il primo momento si svolge, anche in questo caso, nel cortile di casa, e consiste nell'accendere i fuochi con rametti di nocciolo o di arbusti secchi, seguito dall'offerta di pane. La seconda sequenza non ha più luogo, invece, al cimitero, bensì sulla riva del fiume, dove la donna accende un fuoco ai morti intorno a cui gira con incenso, consacrandolo (*menind*), offre una ciambella fatta proprio per tale occasione, e poi versa dell'acqua (nel fiume) per tutti i morti della stirpe.

Infine, il terzo tipo – riscontrato a Geanova e Gomotarţi[13]– si presenta come un tipo sintetico. Sempre in due fasi, si avvicina al primo tipo per l'identità degli spazi dove hanno luogo le pratiche, a casa, e poi al cimitero. D'altro lato, l'offerta consiste, come nel secondo tipo, in fuoco luminoso, pane e acqua. Benché non si rechino al fiume, le donne prendono acqua fresca dalla fontana – senza che tuttavia esistano prescrizioni speciali in tal senso – che viene poi versata alla radice di un albero del cortile nel primo caso e intorno alle tombe di famiglia nel secondo caso.

[10] Osservazioni sul terreno: Ciclova Română, 1991, Mehadica, 1993.

[11] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Grozav, 59 anni; 23 marzo 1991, Ciclova-Română.

[12] Cf. Creţu, Ionică 1983, rispettivamente Žika Marinković, 47 anni; 27 agosto 1993, Osnicea, Valea Timocului, Serbia.

[13] Informazione sul terreno Mariţa Geambru, 73 anni; 26 agosto 1993, Geanova, Valea Timocului, Serbia e, rispettivamente, osservazioni su terreno a Gomotarţi, Bulgaria, 20 aprile 1995.

A Geanova, l'acqua è messa in piccoli vasi che vengono poi sistemati intorno ai fuochi del cortile, e il gesto ha un significato molto chiaro: "Facciamo il fuoco, figliola, e mettiamo l'acqua vicino al fuoco, in *trochiță* (vasi improvvisati ricavati dalle zucche) e si dà in offerta [...] Il Giovedì Santo non si abbandonano questi vasi alle acque del fiume... Perché? Così si dice da noi, così ho da sempre sentito, che con quell'acqua si lavano i piedi i morti"[14].

I SIGNIFICATI. IL PUNTO DI VISTA INTERNO

La descrizione fedele della pratica di accendere i fuochi nella mattina del Giovedì Santo permette di estimare l'importanza e anche l'eccezionalità dell'usanza. Una intera serie di prescrizioni, restrizioni e interdizioni devono essere conosciute affinché le cose si svolgano non solo *così come si deve,* ma anche – e soprattutto, trattandosi di morti, quindi, di rapporti con il trascendente – così *come si deve ed è bene fare.* Tuttavia, la sola presentazione delle rigorosità ancora inalterate dell'usanza non è in grado di restituire l'importanza pregnante, a volte vitale, che questa ha.

L'osservazione diretta come anche le interviste molto numerose in cui ho abbordato – anche se superficialmente – questo problema mi hanno messo davanti ad alcuni casi estremi, ad un'occhiata superficiale, al limite dell'ilare, ad un secondo sguardo, estremamente eloquente, per il carattere *sine qua non* dello svolgimento di questo piccolo rituale affinché la tranquillità ed anche l'ordine della comunità possano essere preservati.

Nell'anno 1990, nella notte fra il mercoledì e il giovedì della Settimana Santa si è venuta a creare una sovrapposizione apparentemente insignificante di avvenimenti: per le comunità rurali del Banato Montano questa era la notte dell'accensione dei fuochi e, implicitamente, dell'attesa rispettosa del ritorno degli antenati in questo mondo; nel contempo, tuttavia, con tutt'altro palinsesto, nella stessa serata di mercoledì era in programma anche una partita di calcio della nazionale; non una partita qualsiasi, bensì una contro l'Ungheria.

Benché, ad un livello molto generale, le due cose non sembrassero aver assolutamente nulla da fare con l'altro e, di conseguenza, non potevano in alcun modo perturbarsi reciprocamente, in modo concreto gli uomini vennero messi di fronte ad un'opzione senza soluzione. L'idea generale era che non si poteva stabilire una gerarchia delle priorità: non si poteva rinunciare né ai fuochi e né alla visione della partita. Ognuno di questi avvenimenti comportava una certa responsabilità e marcava una certa identità. Aspettare con il fuoco acceso presso le tombe il ritorno degli avi era, sicuramente, un dovere ereditato per linea di parentela ed equivaleva con l'affermazione dell'appartenenza ad una stirpe. Nello

[14] Informazione sul terreno. Marița Geambru.

stesso tempo e nella stessa misura in cui questo rituale era uno tradizionale, per ogni persona che lo portava avanti, esso coincideva con l'accettare che quella stessa persona venisse inscritta all'interno di una lunga catena umana, a continuazione dei predecessori e ad anticipazione dei successori. In tali condizioni la posta in gioco non era solo la buona creanza, ma anche assicurarsi preventivamente un buon trattamento – nel registro sacro – in futuro.

D'altro canto, tuttavia, non si poteva perdere o ignorare neanche la partita. Confrontasi con la squadra dell'Ungheria recava con sé un' intera simbologia nazionale, attivata e attivabile, comunque, in qualsiasi contesto in cui si poteva mettere in scena una simile concorrenza, ma ravvivata, allora, da un intervallo molto breve dai tragici avvenimenti di Târgu Mureş, quando lo stato di tensione fra quelle due comunità scappò dal controllo ed è degenerato, in pochi giorni, in violenze di strada. Essere al fianco della squadra nazionale di calcio, anche se in qualità di semplice spettatore, diventava, in queste condizioni, un vero rituale politico. Schivare l'evento avrebbe significato abbandonare l'altra famiglia, quella dei contemporanei, quella costruita sulla base di alleanze sociali e politiche.

Trovatasi in impaccio, la comunità di Ciclova Română ha adottato una soluzione di crisi, volta a risolvere il dilemma. L'accensione dei fuochi si è svolta il mercoledì, verso sera; poi tutta la gente è entrata in casa per seguire la partita. A mezzanotte meno un quarto, tutte le donne si sono precipitate in strada con le candele accese e si sono dirette di tutta corsa, o quasi, fino al cimitero. Una mezzanotte più che altro simbolica che misurata con il cronometro le ha viste là, con i fuochi accesi. Non erano venute meno a nessuno dei due riti, il che significava, implicitamente, che avevano adempito al dovere di cittadino senza dimenticare di essere le pronipoti delle loro bisavole[15].

Anche se la pratica dell'usanza non implica, sempre, decisioni così drastiche, la sua preminenza viene sempre espressa, spesso anche in modo protocollare. Ad esempio: "Durante tutto l'anno non si fa mai una tale commemorazione, come quella del Giovedì Santo. È la più importante festa per i morti"[16]; "Vedi, questo abbiamo appreso, figliola, e così facciamo! Oggi i morti aspettano con grande gioia, e si dice che al mondo non esista un fuoco come quello del Giovedì Santo"[17].

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[15] Benché l'esempio qui addotto proviene da una regione diversa da quella investigata, esso esprime con la stessa intensità che sfiora il patetico, l' attaccamento nei confronti di questa tradizione come parte componente di un attaccamento più generale nei confronti dei morti di famiglia. Così, a Trežnjevica, nella Valea Moravei, in Serbia, in una comunità romenofona sulla cui identità si può discutere molto, ma che, con sicurezza, ha conservato pratiche tradizionali dell'Oltenia del XVIII secolo, Milanka Vasiljević (nata nel 1957) ha così motivato la sua impossibilità ad accettare di passare anche lei, insieme all'intera famiglia alla fede dei Testimoni di Geova: "Non potevo cambiare fede, perché avevo la mamma, il papà... Avevo loro e non potevo cambiare. Loro sono morti. E i Testimoni di Geova non fanno commemorazione dei defunti, non accendono i fuochi, non portano offerte ai morti il Giovedì Santo... Ma, vedi, i morti aspettano!!"

[16] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Grozav.

[17] Informazione sul terreno. Donna sconosciuta, circa 70 anni; registrazione nel cimitero di Gomotarți, Valea Timocului, Bulgaria, durante il rito di *Joimari*; 20 aprile 1995.

Domandando sempre agli abitanti dei villaggi investigati perché facciano tutte queste cose per Giovedì Santo (*Joimari*) ho ottenuto tre categorie di risposte. Nella prima – e questa è la risposta più frequente – le persone hanno motivato il proprio comportamento con la tradizione: "Così abbiamo imparato dagli anziani e per questo rechiamo offerte ai morti"[18]; "Perché? Questo non lo so neanche io, ma così ho appreso, così ho fatto... Ecco, anch'io, adesso ho ottant'anni... E sempre mi ricordo così. Sempre così, di Giovedì Santo, si è fatta questa cosa, perché tutti hanno avuto morti"[19]. In secondo luogo, i soggetti spiegano l'usanza facendo riferimento alla sua efficacia: "I morti aspettano con grande gioia"[20]; "Ho sempre creduto in questo, ci ho creduto molto, a tal punto che ho pensato che posso aiutarli in qualcosa. E basta"[21]. Infine – anche se quest'ultimo caso è molto più raro – la gente tenta di collegare questo momento del culto dei morti di famiglia all'ampio rituale cristiano della Pasqua: „E quest'usanza, come le ho detto, quest'usanza si ha poiché... noi diciamo che alle ore dodici, in quel momento anche i morti tremano nelle tombe, quando hanno catturato... E allora, quando hanno catturato Cristo, si dice che anche i morti dei sepolcri hanno tremato. E noi, ortodossi conserviamo quest'usanza e la notte alle dodici facciamo luce presso la tomba. A mezzanotte giungiamo alla tomba"[22].

In conclusione, a tal riguardo, farò notare che per i membri della comunità che praticano l'accensione dei fuochi nel Giovedì Santo, il valore di questo rituale è indiscutibile. Motivato, semplicemente, in quanto parte della tradizione o spiegata adducendo soluzioni mitiche e rituali costruiti, sulle orme di una mitologia diffusa, da parte di svariata gente volta a problematizzare, quest'usanza è una fondamentale, il cui svolgimento è assolutamente necessario affinché l'ordine del mondo venga mantenuto. Ciò che regola, riguarda le relazioni calorose fra la stirpe dei vivi e la stirpe dei morti di famiglia, fino ad un certo punto; al di là di questo punto, tuttavia, sintetizzando quello che deve essere sintetizzato, riguarda le relazioni molto più generali fra la vita e la morte. Quindi, una volta disegnato questo nuovo contesto, deve essere riconosciuto il valore di regolatore dell'ordine cosmico, volto a marcare i confini e le dimensioni della vita e della morte, nella filigrana dello svolgimento rituale e soprattutto in quello dell'unanime apprezzamento della comunità.

[18] Informazione sul terreno. Marița Geambru.

[19] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Mândroane, 79 anni; 23 marzo 1991, Ciclova-Română.

[20] Donna sconosciuta di Gomotarți, 20 aprile 1995.

[21] Informazione sul terreno. Maria Gaita, 53 anni; 18 giugno 1994, Mehadica.

[22] Informazione sul terreno. Lena lu Bihoi, 69 anni; 22 marzo 1991, Ciclova-Română; in linea generale questa spiegazione viene confermata anche da Elena Grozav.

ALTRI SIGNIFICATI. IL PUNTO DI VEDERE DELL'ETNOLOGO

Vitali per coloro che vivono nelle comunità tradizionali, i fuochi del Giovedì Santo sono incitanti anche per l'etnologo che li osserva e/o discute su di essi.

La prima osservazione che può essere fatta, da questa posizione, è quella che la pratica del rito così come la sua presentazione in forma narrativo-descrittiva sono appannaggio quasi assoluto delle donne[23]. Questo compito, a volte, viene portato fino agli estremi: anche quando la sola persona di sesso femminile in una famiglia è una bambina che ha superato l'età di dieci anni, a quest'ultima si trasferisce la suddetta responsabilità, anche se, spesso, la bambina svolge l'intero rituale assistita da una vicina o da un'amica di famiglia.

Tutte queste osservazioni mi fanno, in primo luogo, notare l'esclusività della pratica per il fatto che ci si focalizza in modo assoluto sul ruolo femminile e, di seguito, mi fanno rimarcare, per quanto riguarda le comunità da me qui analizzate, una separazione molto rigida dei ruoli rituali. Diviene, così, abbastanza chiaro che, in queste regioni, la donna è colei che gestisce nel modo più efficiente le relazioni di famiglia e, in modo speciale, i rapporti con gli avi. Se si aggiunge, poi, che lo svolgimento dell'intero rituale della nascita così come tutto ciò che riguarda il funerale e i riti post-funerari, la commemorazione degli antenati, insieme ad una serie di piccole pratiche volte ad assicurare la prosperità della casa sono tutti appannaggio della donna, ottengo un'immagine del ruolo sociale (che si realizza in seguito alla somma di più ruoli rituali) orientato verso la sfera famigliare. In altre parole, ciò che non può essere trascurato è che l'esistenza di una famiglia, con tutto ciò che essa presuppone (i membri della famiglia nucleare, le proprietà di questi così come / e soprattutto la lunga catena degli antenati e, teoricamente, l'infinita catena dei discendenti) sono responsabilità assoluta della donna. L'usanza che qui mi interessa è solo un pezzo rappresentativo in questo percorso più generale.

Un secondo commento che può essere addotto dal punto di vista dell'etnologo è quello che fa riferimento al nome tradizionale dell'usanza. Note come *joimărele*, *focurele* ori *luminişte*[24] i fuochi di *Joimari*[25] sembrano rilegati –

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[23] Dal 1990 e fino ad oggi, periodo durante il quale ho svolto sistematicamente indagini su terreno (anche) su tale argomento, oppure ho partecipato allo svolgersi del rito dell'accensione dei fuochi, ho visto un solo uomo che metteva in pratica il rituale e questo poiché egli era l'ultimo discendente della stirpe, nella sua famiglia non vi era più nessuna donna.

[24] Faccio notare come eccezione il nome *focu lor*, attestato a Ilova, nella provincia di Caraş-Severin. Nonostante le mie domande supplementari, volte a decifrare chi si debba intendere in luogo di *lor*, quel pronome personale generico, di terza persona plurale, non ha ottenuto alcuna risposta. La mia ipotesi è che *ei* — quelli cui sono destinati i fuochi — non può essere altro che i morti. Ciò che rende, tuttavia, interessante questo nome oscuro per la comunità che l'ha conservato è proprio la inappetenza degli uomini a cercare di dargli una spiegazione. Questo comportamento particolare (in condizioni in cui molte cose, non chiare legate a ciò su cui ho chiesto chiarimenti, sono state spiegate ricorrendo a soluzioni personali e per il momento senza nessuna memoria) mi sembra che riguarda la sfera del *segreto* sostenuto con l'aiuto del tabù linguistico, addomesticato dall'eufemismo.

anche a causa del loro nome – nel registro dei diminuitivi. La domanda che può essere formulata, in queste condizioni, riguarda i valori che possono essere scorti al di là di questa opzione linguistica quasi generale. Certamente, mettendo questi dati in relazione con l'usanza in sé, il primo valore dei diminutivi è strettamente connotativo: i fuochi accesi in tale occasione sono molto, quindi un nome fedele non può non ignorare questa loro caratteristica. D'altra parte, tuttavia, il diminutivo ha una serie di valori stilistici pregnanti, fra cui la simpatia, l'attaccamento, la tenerezza nei confronti dell'oggetto attraverso il suo utilizzo. In questo caso, la soluzione linguistica di ricorrere al diminutivo deve essere messa in rapporto con un intero immaginario famigliare del funerale, così come esso esiste nella variante romena. Il messaggio nascosto che esso deve trasmettere è quello che il mondo degli avi è guardato con calore e tenerezza. Ciò che ad esso è destinato è circondato da affetto e viene chiamato in maniera affettuosa. In un certo senso, questo trattamento ricorda le relazioni con i bambini e con l'universo infantile e si colloca in un genere di equilibrio in rapporto con quelle relazioni e con quell'universo. Indirettamente, l'idea che cura queste relazioni sembra essere quella dell'equivalenza simbolica di bambini e avi. Trovandosi in una posizione debole e avendo bisogno di protezione (diretta e materiale, o rituale) i discendenti così come i predecessori sono due gruppi che si costituiscono, in massima parte, solo nell'immaginario, mentre sono assenti in modo concreto, o meglio la distanza confortante a cui sono collocati fa in modo che vengano visti e chiamati con infinito amore.

Al di là di quest'aspetto comune, i nomi dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo trasmettono anche un'informazione utile per comprendere la loro posta essenziale. Infatti, derivato da *lumină (luce)*, il termine locale *luminişte* comunica anche il ruolo più importante della pratica, cioè quella di produrre luce. Con parole dei nativi, questo fatto si può spiegare in quanto "i morti vengono e, da quel che io credo, devono vedere i luoghi"[26]. In altre parole, accendere il fuoco ha il significato di facilitare il passaggio delle anime dei morti dall'aldilà al nostro mondo, quindi la luce è solo uno degli ingredienti dello svolgimento del rito di passaggio. In sua assenza, le anime possono smarrire la strada, possono non riuscire a ritornare e, di conseguenza, possono rimanere sospese fra i due mondi, perturbando, da lì, l'ordine della comunità. Modificando ciò che deve essere modificato nell'affermazione di Ignazio Buttitta, descriverò, con parole sue, il ruolo esclusivamente culturale della luce prodotta dai fuochi del Giovedì Santo: „La luce del fuoco serve a illuminare e dunque a combattere il tempo naturale" (Buttitta 2002: 24).

Riprendendo, tuttavia, la lista degli aspetti che possono essere di interesse dell'etnologo che osserva lo svolgersi dell'accensione dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo, aggiungerò a tal riguardo, la questione del materiale di cui sono fatti e,

[25] Bisogna rilevare, ugualmente, che tutte questi nomi locali così come la formula utilizzata nel registro scientifico, fuochi di *Joimari*, sono *pluralia tantum*.

[26] Informazione sul terreno. Ruja Raia, 38 anni, Mehadica, jud. Caraş Severin, 8 settembre 2001.

successivamente, i significati che ne derivano. E a proposito di ciò, le informazioni sono unanimi: per i fuochi sono necessari rami di arbusti secchi o di nocciolo[27], come si afferma molto spesso, pezzi corti e molto secchi, che prendono fuoco facilmente, per dare molta luce e poco fumo e, per quanto è possibile, scoppiettare. L'analisi di queste prescrizioni interne mi permette di constatare che lo scopo a cui mira la comunità è un fuoco di piccole dimensioni e di breve durata, un fuoco che si consuma con intensità (emanando luce e suono), un fuoco passeggero e frugale come il bagliore di una luce che appare un attimo, lasciandosi dietro un messaggio sulla cui comprensione bisognerà, in seguito, riflettere per lungo tempo.

Così pensato, il fuoco con cui sono accolti i morti deve essere acceso in un modo particolare, rigidamente regolato dalla tradizione. Esso non dovrebbe[28] provenire da una scintilla, ma deve prendere vita per contagio da un qualcosa di rovente. In pratica, nel cortile prima e poi al cimitero o sulla riva del fiume, la donna dovrebbe accendere i fuochi (*focurelele)* senza utilizzare la fiamma libera, bensì solo con l'aiuto di un tizzone del focolare. Per questo, in ogni casa esiste un intero arsenale di oggetti, alcuni – ad esempio le *tămâielnice* (incensieri) di argilla – strettamente specializzati per questo passaggio del fuoco dal focolaio (o, più recentemente, dalla stufa della cucina) a questi fuochi transitori accesi in occasioni speciali, altri trasformati accidentalmente per questo scopo. I tizzoni vengono prelevati, quindi, dal focolaio e portati arroventati e pronti a determinare l'accensione, fino al fuoco del cortile. In seguito, ciò che rimane nel *tămâielnic* è

[27] *Il nocciolo (alunul)* è uno degli alberi con la più completa pletora di simbolismi della cultura tradizionale romena. Vedi, a tal riguardo, ad esempio, i commenti e la bibliografia di Ion Taloş (Taloş 2001: 5 – 6): "Il nocciolo è un albero mitico molto importante. Con i suoi rami le donne possono far sortilegi d'amore e possono placare le tempeste. Chi reca con se un ramo di nocciolo può fare sì che le streghe non possano rubare il latte delle sue mucche, può uccidere serpenti, può trovare tesori nascosti, può impedire che i demoni entrino nella sua casa ecc. Dando a qualcuno un ramo di nocciolo si possono trasmettere molte malattie. Se un alcolizzato beve un infuso di fiori di nocciolo, non potrà più tollerare l'alcool. Le foglie di nocciolo curano i morsi di serpente, mentre le nocciole raccolte da donne nude curano la malaria. L'amuleto portato dentro una nocciola è molto efficiente. In Banato e Oltenia i bambini mettono rametti di nocciolo sulle tombe del cimitero affinché i morti riposino in pace. Sempre con questi rami la Madre del Signore salva la Terra, ad ogni fine d'anno, dalla distruzione, infatti: La Terra è sorretta da un pilastro di ferro che il Diavolo rosicchia continuamente. Alla fine di ogni hanno il lavoro è quasi ultimato, mettendo il pianeta in pericolo. La Santa Maria lo minaccia, allora, con un ramoscello di nocciolo. Il Diavolo smette di rosicchiare, si volge verso Maria, e Lei lancia nel buco fatto dal diavolo ferro fuso, il pilastro riprende la sua forma iniziale e il pianeta ha, di nuovo, tranquillità per un anno".

[28] Dico che *non dovrebbe* e non, semplicemente, *non deve*, poiché negli ultimi decenni si è avuta una duplicazione della pratica: le donne hanno continuato a maneggiare, con sobrietà, i tizzoni presi dal focolaio portati in vasi propriamente destinati a questo tipo di rituale; al contempo, tuttavia, queste non hanno esitato ad avere con sé fiammiferi, se non addirittura svariati dispositivi per accendere il fuoco. Piccoli quadratini di caucciù (dal copertone delle biciclette, soprattutto), ma anche una mescolanza di cenere e petrolio, posti in confezioni dimesse delle conserve, hanno iniziato a sostituire le vecchie *tămâielnice* con la brace. Due serie di oggetti — quelli necessari a costruire il rito e quelli necessari per un effetto materiale immediato — hanno iniziato ad essere compresenti in occasione dell'accensione di questi fuochi.

ricoperto, saggiamente, con cenere, per essere portato successivamente al cimitero: si mette molta cenere per mantenere il calore della brace, ma non eccessivamente per evitare che si possa spegnere.

Tutte queste brevi sequenze: curare alcuni vasi speciali, la scelta di tizzoni adatti, la loro collocazione nel vaso, l'accenzione dei fuochi usando essi esclusivamente, il trasporto del fuoco per certe distanze come ciò che avviene negli ultimi dieci anni: stimare la difficoltà di questo modo di accendere il fuoco e la scelta di alcune scelte pragmatiche molto più efficienti per il scopo constituiscono i punti forti di una vera scienza del mantenere, del ravvivare, dell'utilizzare il fuoco domesico, scienza che si dimostra, così, altro compito della donna di casa.

Capire i fuochi di *Joimari* nella loro complessità, dalla prospettiva dell'etnologo, che cerco di sviluppare in questa sede, presuppone anche una riflessione sugli spazi in cui l'usanza ha luogo, e dove questi vengono accesi. Presa in modo complementare con la precedente considerazione, riguardante la trasmissione contagiosa del fuoco dal fuoco del focolaio/stufa a quello del cortile e, poi, a quello del cimitero, la pratica può essere letta anche come una successione di atti volta a conquistare lo spazio.

Alla stregua del fuoco, che non si crea di nuovo, e, ancor meglio, così come nel caso dei fuochi vivi, si porta da un punto fisso e centrale, e si aspetta poi che si trasmetta e il suo spazio sembra espandersi lentamente lentamente e soprattutto passo per passo. Da dove, inizialmente, esso si limita all'interno della casa, il fuoco acceso nel cortile produce, immediatamente, la sua dilatazione, affinché, in seguito, dopo lo svolgersi del rito al cimitero, anche questo territorio venga integrato nello spazio domestico in generale.

Quel che è determinante è il fatto che questa respirazione sempre più ampia, sempre più lenta, questo slancio della distensione e della trasmissione delle essenze domestiche in quadri sempre più ampi si sviluppa parallelamente alla credenza che i morti abbiano, in questo momento, una ripresa per cui essi, come signori di questo mondo esterno alla casa ma ad essa contingente, devono essere coinvolti come compagni a questo processo generale di rinnovamento.

Su questo sfondo, il rituale punta a procurarsi la benevolenza dei morti: accanto ai fuochi si pongono pane e, a volte, si offre acqua. Negli ultimi anni, una lunga lista di prodotti industriale ritenuti *de post* (da digiuno, per la quaresima) possono essere offerti, in quest'occasione, per essere poi consumati, analogicamente, per le anime dei morti.

L'importanza di questa funzione ha sviluppato, a volte, pratiche rituali ridondanti di posta, anche se lievemente differenti dal punto di vista formale. I villaggi del sud estremo del Timoc, le comunità più conservatrici della sfera linguistico-etnografica del Banato offrono, a tal proposito, un esempio eloquente. Qui, la seconda fase dei fuochi del *Giovedì Santo* ha luogo al cimitero, sulle tombe di famiglia e nell'immediata vicinanza del banchetto fastoso che si trova permanentemente su di esse. Due serie di alimenti rituali sono volti ad assicurare la

gioa, il ringraziamento, la benevolenza e, in modo implicito, anche la protezione. Si tratta, in primo luogo, di alimenti tradizionali di quest'usanza: pane e acqua. Questi sono posti, sobriamente, sul banchetto dei morti, poi dati in offerta ai passanti oppure riportati a casa, dove vengono consumati durante il giorno in modo analogico, per l'anima degli avi. In secondo luogo, tuttavia, si tratta di alcuni piccoli pezzi di frutta – una noce, una mela, un fetta di zucca – che rimangono al cimitero, sul sontuoso banchetto dei morti anche dopo che i membri vivi della famiglia vanno via. Difatti, questi sono alimenti dedicati, direttamente – non solo analogicamente – alle anime stanche e affamate dei bisavoli, sui quali le credenze dicono che ritornino, temporaneamente, nel mondo dei vivi.

Niente eguaglia, tuttavia, il rito verbale della consacrazione di questi fuochi. *consacrazione (menitul)*, così come viene chiamato in una serie di località, sviluppa il senso della pratica e, a causa dell'impressionante elencazione di nomi per cui viene costruito, comunica, sotto sotto, l'idea del potere di un parente che coopta, con questa occasione, accanto ai pochi membri della famiglia nucleare i membri molto numerosi della famiglia in senso largo, che comprende anche i morti. Ecco qui un esempio eloquente a tal riguardo: „– *Doamne primeşte,/ Doamne, binecuvintează/ Luminile astea/ Şi cu colacii ăştia,/ Să-i fie de pomană/ Lu Măria mea/ Şi lu copilu meu!/ Lu Iancu şi lu Filaret/ Şi lu mumă-mea Lena,/ Lu doda şi lu tata,/ Lu maica şi lu Ghiţă/ Şi lu taica Trifoiţă,/ Dumnezău Sfântu/ Să le binecuvinteze/ La sufletele lor/ Lumina/ Şi toată pomana ce se face./ Să-i fie lu soru-mea, lu Florica,/ Lu taica, lu moşu Costa,/ Lu taica lu Iancu/ Cu muierea şi cu copiii lor,/ Să le fie de pomană la toţi./ Lu soacră-mea/ Cu lu socru-meu,/ Cu lu maica Măria,/ Lu moaşa Măgdălina/ Cu lu copilu ei./ Doamne, primeşte-le,/ Doamne, binecuvintează-le,/ Lu taica Şoimu,/ Lu maica Comoane,/ Lu ninea Pavăl,/ Lu Pătru/ Şi lu uica Pătru./ Dumnezău Sfântu/ Să-i împlinească pe toţi/ Să-i pomenească/ Cu toată pomana/ Şi cu toată lumina/ Care s-a făcut./ Doamne, primeşte-le,/ Doamne, veseleşte-i pe toţi*"[29].

La discreta versificazione del testo in romeno ha, di certo, una doppia funzionalità: in primo luogo, la pronuncia, per quanto monotona, impone per costrizioni ritmiche, metriche e melodiche anche, implicitamente, conferisce rigore al rituale; in secondo luogo, la forma fissa è una garanzia mnemotecnica e un rimedio contro la dimenticanza. Una volta messo nella lista rituale di quelli commemorati in diverse occasioni, specie il Giovedì Santo, il morto passa dalla concretezza della vita quotidiana nella memoria famigliare. Il suo ricordo, garantito

[29] [Signore accogli,/ Signore benedici/ queste candele/ e queste ciambelle/ date in offerta/ alla mia Maria/ e a mio figlio!/ a Iancu e a Filaret/ e a mia mamma Lena/ a zio e al papà/ alla mamma e a Ghiţă/ e a papà Trifoiţă,/ Dio Santo/benedici/ le loro anime/ la candela/ e tutto il banchetto che si offre/ A mia sorella, a Florica/ a papà, a zio Costa/ al papà di Iancu/insieme a sua moglie e ai suoi figli/ sia offerta per tutti./ A mia suocera/ e a mio suocero/ e a mamma Măria/ a zia Măgdălina /e a suo figlio./ Signore accoglili,/ Signore benedicili,/ papà Şoimu,/ mamma Comoane,/ zio Pavăl,/ Pătru/ zio Pătru./ Che Iddio Santo/ li accolga tutti/ li ricordi/ e anche l'offerta/ e tutte le candele/ donate./ Signore accoglili,/ Signore, rendi tutti felici] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Mândroane, Ciclova Română.

dalla riproduzione meccanica di un testo stereotipato, inamovibile, così come nessun pezzo può mancare in un *puzzle* già fatto, evidenzia, ogni volta, come *pars pro toto*, l'esistenza, l'antichità, la grandezza e il potere del famigliare.

Lo spazio e la stirpe si dilatano, quindi. I confini fra i mondi diventano porosi. Il potere del fuoco si trasmette, contagioso, da un centro verso i margini... Sembra un momento in cui tutto è possibile, poiché i riti fermamente rispettati hanno portato ad un capovolgimento delle regole del mondo. Commentando la struttura di profondità di simili ampli rituali, l'eminente storico delle religioni, Mircea Eliade, affermava: „Osserviamo già da adesso che, diffuse quasi universalmente, le credenze secondo le quali i morti ritornano nelle loro famiglie (e ritornano, di solito, come dei *morti-vivi*) intorno all'Anno Nuovo [...] denotano la speranza che l'abolizione del tempo è possibile in quel momento mitico in cui il mondo è annientato e ricreato. Allora i morti potranno ritornare, poiché tutte le barriere fra morti e vivi sono abbattute[30] (il caos primordiale è riattualizzato) e ritorneranno poiché in questo momento paradossale il tempo sarà sospeso e, quindi, essi potranno essere, di nuovo, contemporanei di quelli vivi (Eliade 1969 [1991]: 53).

Ritornando, tuttavia, al punto di vista dell'etnologo, constaterò il potere simbolico irradiante che ha il fuoco in questo rituale. Mediatore fra i vivi e i morti ma anche fra diversi livelli dell'universo[31], il fuoco del Giovedì Santo lega coloro che furono a coloro che verranno, ugualmente con l'aprirsi di una sacralità di fattura arcaica e attraverso gli stimoli morali della partecipazione della pratica volta ad esprimere pienamente l'identità (*cf.* Buttitta 2002: 72).

IL RITUALE RIPARATORE O QUANDO I MORTI NON RISPETTANO LE REGOLE

Costruendo, sul piano tematico, un rituale dedicato agli antenati, tutti i gesti, gli oggetti, le materie e le parole descritte in precedenza sostengono una pratica essenzialmente benefica. Il fuoco che dà la luce e chiamato/fatto con tenerezza, l'acqua limpida, il pane e le solenni parole fungono in modo parallelo da sorgenti di un mondo armonioso. Sottolineare questa valorizzazione conseguentemente luminosa e benefica dell'usanza è assolutamente essenziale.

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[30] Ricordo, velocemente, che il giorno del Giovedì Santo, un giorno di resurrezione dei morti della famiglia, è inquadrato da altre due resurrezioni, molto più celebri e che fanno riferimento, essenzialmente, alla sacralità cristiana: la resurrezione di Lazzaro, il sabato prima delle Palme e la resurrezione di Gesù, a Pasqua. La coerenza e la conseguenza del piano resurrezionale, rintracciabili nelle strutture di resistenza delle usanze di questo periodo si rivelano, così, fattori che si realizzano alternativamente nel registro cristiano/popolare/cristiano.

[31] Vedi, a tal proposito, un commento più ampio di Buttitta (2002: 64): "Il focolare, centro della casa, è il luogo di passaggio per eccellenza, la via attraverso la quale si effettua la circolazione tra i diversi livelli cosmici altrimenti separati".

Tuttavia, fra i fuochi del Giovedì Santo in Banato si registra anche un'eccezione. Si tratta, anche in questo caso, di altri tipi di fuochi: senza nomi teneri e, per di più, presupposti solo quale diretta causa del *bruciare,* che è chiamato in modo diretto; con altre dimensioni; fatto con altro genere di appercezione generale; che punta ad altri scopi.

Cito, a tal riguardo, un esempio: *„Atuncea în Joimari, până-n Paşti, Joia, înainte de Paşti, când se mere la mormânt, atunci acolo vine un călăreţ cu un cal, da' armig, nejugănit. Vine călări şi mere, după ce s-o-ntunecat, peste mormântu lu ăia care presupun ei că ar fi mormântaţi de-acuma şi ar fi strigoi. Atunci mere peste mormântu lor. Repede calu să sară peste morminte. Atunci calu sare peste unu, sare peste două şi, când o ajuns la ăla care-i strigoi, peste ăla nu mai sare, ţâpă picioarele şi stă-n loc. [...] Şi atunci îi presupus că aclo îi strigoi. Atunci îl dezgroapă, îl scot afară şi-l ard cu spini. Fac foc de spini, pun spini pe foc şi-l pun aclo şi-l ard"*[32].

In altre parole, nello stesso tempo, quando, in piena notte, la famiglia rende onore ai suoi accendendo fuochi nel cimitero, coloro il cui morto sembra non aver pace fanno ciò che bisogna fare per placarlo e ristabilire l'armonia del mondo (Hedeşan 1990: 62–90, passim). Il carattere speciale, principalmente aggressivo e solo nel suo profondo benefico, del fuoco in cui viene bruciato il fantasma viene fuori da due particolari: il primo, se i fuochi usuali della notte di Giovedì Santo vengono accesi da donne, questo, eccezionale e pauroso, viene fatto dagli uomini; poi, se *joimărelele/luminiştele* realizzano uno spazio che media fra la parte dell'al di qua della famiglia e quella dell'aldilà, in quanto si crede che mentre i vivi li accendono e li mantengono, i morti aspettano, vicino ad essi, con grande gioia, quest'altro fuoco affligge il corpo del morto stesso e produce, con un'efficienza massima e definitiva, la sua sparizione materiale dal nostro mondo.

Se ben interpreto questi veri roghi che vengono accesi, nella notte del Giovedì Santo, in alcuni cimiteri del Banato e in alcuni casi chiaramente diagnosticati, secondo le tradizioni locali, devo precisare, così come anche Marianne Mesnil, che: "Simili riti hanno luogo se si manifestano segni di vampirismo nella comunità: se nello stesso periodo si registrano molte morti successive o se si constatano turbamenti che minacciano i raccolti, il bestiame o la fertilità in genere, come, ad esempio, un periodo di siccità o di pioggia prolungata. In simili casi, la sopravvivenza dell'intero villaggio è minacciata e si impongono

[32] [In quel giorno, di Giovedì Santo, fino a Pasqua, il Giovedì, prima di Pasqua, quando si va alle tombe, allora viene un cavaliere con un cavallo, ma uno stallone, non castrato. Viene a cavallo e va, dopo che si è fatto buio, sul sepolcro di coloro che si pensa siano stati sepolti da poco e che siano *strigoi* (vampiri). Allora va sul loro sepolcro. Rapidamente il cavallo salta sulle tombe. Allora il cavallo salta su una, salta su due e, quando arriva da quello che è un vampiro, su quella non salta più, impunta le zampe e si ferma.[...] E allora si suppone che lì c'è un vampiro. Quindi lo disseppelliscono, lo traggono fuori e lo bruciano con dei rovi. Fanno un fuoco di rovi, mettono i rovi sul fuoco, lo mettono lì sopra e lo bruciano] (Hedeşan 1998: 55).

misure di protezione per porre fine alla situazione anormale. Una volta scoperto «il colpevole», bisogna procedere alla sua eliminazione. Per questo, si aprono i sepolcri, il corpo viene esumato, il che permette di constatarne i segni di vampirismo, soprattutto lo stato di conservazione e «l'area sana» del cadavere, o la posizione anormale del corpo nella bara. Deve, quindi, essere colpito il fantasma proprio nel suo punto vulnerabile, infingendogli un grosso chiodo nel cuore. Questo è l'organo considerato di solito il ricettacolo del principio vitale. O, più precisamente, quest'organo viene prelevato e trasformato in cenere [allorquando non si trasforma in cenere nel cadavere esumato – n.m., O.H.]. (...) La cenere può servire, a sua volta, come rimedio anti-vampiro: mescolata con acqua viene bevuta dai membri di famiglia" (Mesnil, Popova 1997: 133).

In questo ordine di idee, le esumazioni dei cadaveri e, poi, la loro cremazione in vista dell'annichilimento del vampiro, possono essere viste come "un secondo funerale", capovolto ma, per questo, non meno ricco di significati. Così, se lo svolgimento dell'intero cerimoniale di una morte usuale è appannaggio delle donne, in questo secondo caso, la pratica passa alle cure degli uomini; se un funerale qualsiasi ha luogo di giorno, questo, fatto una seconda volta, si svolge di notte; inoltre, ciò che, in modo normale, costituisce un obbligo famigliare, adesso è interesse dell'intera comunità del villaggio; infine, se il primo funerale appartiene al tipo *inumazione,* questo, il secondo, volto a stabilizzare la situazione e a ripristinare l'armonia comunitaria, appartiene al genere della *cremazione*[33].

In questa apertura, secondo cui la polivalenza del simbolismo dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo definisce l'antagonismo, il momento rappresenta una vera e propria festa in cui il mito, resuscitato attraverso il rituale, controlla il contingente: il contatto fra le anime degli avi con quelle dei membri vivi della stirpe è permesso nel contesto definito, tuttavia è permesso solo sulle coordinate delle idee e della fede, di là di ogni mescolanza di materiale fondamentalmente impuro.

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[33] Vedi un'analisi più dettagliata in Hedeşan 1998: 184: "la cremazione ricorda il sistema usuale del distacco del morto del mondo carpato-danubiano dell'era antica. Benché neanche le cause generali della sostituzione dell'inumazione con la cremazione non possono essere spiegate con certezza, e i ricercatori sono costretti a fare solo ipotesi, tuttavia «il rito della cremazione predomina nettamente nell'epoca tarda dello sviluppo della società daco-getica; l'inumazione si incontra raramente e in quei casi soprattutto per i bambini». Più precisamente, nei suoi contatti con le ondate di migrazioni, la popolazione autoctona si è contraddistinta per il suo attaccamento a questo genere di rituale funerario. Vasile Pârvan scriveva a tal proposito: «Il Tène getico è, dal punto di vista del rito funerario, una continuazione dell'epoca del bronzo IV locale, con la cremazione come regola. La fase sciita, con il suo rito dell'inumazione, non ha esercitato alcuna influenza sul culto dei morti in Dacia. Dall'altra parte, i celti, che avevano sempre il rito dell'inumazione, non lo mantengono in Dacia Se lo abbiano perso prima di giungere da noi, a contatto con i germani, o se si siano adattati una volta giunti da noi, non può essere stabilito con esattezza. Perché, però, nel Danubio medio essi mantennero questo rito fino al III Tène, benchè le circostanze erano le stesse che quelle della Dacia, per quanto riguarda la distanza dalla stirpe germanica e i rapporti con essa, è probabile che i celti siano passati al rito della cremazione una volta giunti dalle nostre parti e proprio lungo il Danubio medio, in primo luogo sotto l'influenza getica»".

AL POSTO DI CONCLUSIONI. O DELINEANDO ALCUNI CONTESTI

Guardati nel loro svolgersi, compresi dal punto di vista del nativo, o analizzati con l'occhio avido di connessioni dell'etnologo, i fuochi del Giovedì Santo possono essere capiti in modo più esatto nel momento in cui vengono collocati in determinati contesti.

Osserverò, così, in primo luogo, che essi occupano una posizione di preminenza nella serie molto lunga e prolissa di giorni che, durante l'anno, sono dedicati, in Banato, alla commemorazione dei morti. Insieme a *Moşii de iarnă*[34] (i Vecchi dell'inverno) e *Moşii de vară*[35] (i Vecchi dell'estate), il Giovedì Santo scandisce un vero calendario regionale dei morti, in cui quasi ogni festa religiosa più importante presenta una fase postfuneraria, ma in cui il periodo di massima intensità è rappresentato da questi tre giorni, calcolati in funzione della data della Pasqua.

In secondo luogo, preciso che *focurelele/joimărelele/luminiştele* non sono i soli fuochi che si accendono, nell'arco dell'anno, in Banato. In una vicinanza temporale variabile (considerato che il giorno del Giovedì Santo slitta nel calendario, in funzione del calcolo pasquale) troviamo i fuochi del 25 marzo, chiamato giorno della Annunciazione (*Bunăvestire*, *Blagoveştenie* o *Blagoveşteană)*. In un altro ordine di idee, nello stesso giorno, ma in altre località, si accendono fuochi impressionanti, che si colloca nell'ambito di un'usanza complessa fino all'antinomia, nota con il nome di *alimori*.

Se i fuochi del Giovedì Santo (*focurelele)* somigliano ai fuochi del giorno della Annunciazione *(Bunăvestire)* per le loro dimensioni modeste, le differenze fra di essi sono molto più significative. Quindi, di Giovedì Santo lo scopo del fuoco è quello di produrre una luce forte ed effimera; per il giorno della Annunciazione *(Bunăvestire),* invece, i fuochi sono solo causa di fumi densi e prolungati. Poi, se *joimărelele* (i fuochi del *Giovedì Santo*) sono dedicati ai morti, che entrano a far parte, così, dei grandi cicli famigliari, i fuochi della *Annunciazione* vengono accesi per la fertilità dei campi, per la prosperità del bestiame e l'integrità fisica degli uomini, riguardando, quindi, il sistema ciclico dell'agricoltura.

In ciò che riguarda i rapporti fra *focurele* e i fuochi di *alimori*, qui le relazioni sono molto più sofisticate. Ad un primo livello, di superficie, deve farsi la distinzione fra il fuoco piccolo, familiare e famigliare, fuoco che fa da mediatore fra gruppi e che viene curato dalle donne, in un caso, e dall'altra parte il fuoco imponente, fatto proprio perchè sia visibile da lontano, il fuoco dell'intera comunità, fuoco curato da ragazzi e uomini e che ha per lo più la funzione di appoggiare la secessione fra gruppi – il gruppo dei ragazzi nella parte superiore del villaggio *versus* quello dei ragazzi della parte bassa; il gruppo di ragazzi che

[34] Festività con data mobile, che ricorre l'ultimo sabato prima dell'inizio del digiuno pasquale.

[35] Festività con data mobile, in corrispondenza della *Pentecoste* o nel primo martedì dopo la *Pentecoste.*

accende il fuoco e "grida verso il villaggio" *versus* tutti gli altri, su cui si può gridare; il gruppo di coloro che hanno rispettato le leggi della comunità e che, adesso, sono passati sotto silenzio *versus* coloro che non hanno rispettato queste leggi, quindi contro di essi si griderà durante *alimori* – invece di unire. Certamente, nello stesso senso, è impossibile trascurare la discreta sobrietà con cui si accendono i fuochi del Giovedì Santo, in perfetta discordanza con lo scatenamento carnevalesco che, anno dopo anno, viene provocato da *alimori*. Se tralasciamo, tuttavia, queste scene, così evidentemente opposte, sarà impossibile che non ci faccia riflettere una delle etimologie che gli etnologi romeni hanno proposto per il termine *alimori*, cioè *ad lemures* (Taloş 2001: 5), il che lega la pratica, anche se con nessi abbastanza opacizzati e discutibili, alla sfera del funerale.

Infine, un terzo contesto assolutamente necessario dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo come tradizione postfuneraria e commemorativa è rappresentato dalla idea stessa di giorno dedicato in modo esclusivo ai morti. Uno sguardo, per quanto superficiale, alle usanze romene rileverà una geografia di questa data – funzione. Il giorno dei morti è così: *Joimari* (Giovedì Santo), nel Banato Montano e in Oltenia; *Paştele Mici* (La Pasqua Piccola, la Domenica dopo Pasqua) nel Banato della Pianura, Crişana, Oaş o Maramureş; *Paştele Blajinilor* (La Pasqua dei Buoni), cioè il primo lunedì dopo *Paştele Mici* in Moldavia (compresi Bucovina e Bassarabia). A queste date di riferimento si aggiungono, negli ultimi venticinque anni, il *1 Novembre* in Banato di Pianura, Crişana e Transilvania Settentrionale, cioè laddove i romeni hanno coabitato con i germani o con gli ungheresi cattolici[36].

[36] La novità di questo obbligo festivo fa sì che, per il momento, non esistano, nella bibliografia romena, studi estesi su questo tema. Riprendo, tuttavia, brevi passaggi che indicano l'importanza eccezionale di questo giorno nelle regioni in cui esso esiste in quanto tale: "Nei villaggi della Transilvania, il Giorno dei Morti ha un bel nome: *Luminaţia*. Se fosse per me, metterei *Luminaţia* (*l'Illustrissimo*) fra le Feste Nazionali. Durante le *Luminaţie* si crede che anche i bambini possano capire cosa è la patria, ancor più che nel *Giorno degli Eroi* o del *Giorno Nazionale*. Queste sono astrazioni difficili da concepire per delle menti immature. Ma quanti adulti non hanno di fronte alle astrazioni menti immature? Senza suonar vano, il giorno di *Luminaţie* (*dell'Illustrissimo*) puoi ben dire che la patria è un pezzo di terra che non ti è indifferente. Un pezzo di terra di due metri quadrati che ami e di cui ti vergogni. E più tardi, ne hai paura. Ti è caro perchè vai spesso a vederlo e a pregare su di lui. Ci vai spesso, ma solo con il pensiero. Ne hai vergogna perchè non ci vai di persona, metti fiori con il pensiero e non con la mano. Ma, il giorno di *Luminaţie,* metti tutto da parte e fai una cosa insignificante, un gesto minuscolo: con fiori e candele in mano, sali il sentiero verso il cimitero, con i tuoi figli accanto. Porti anche loro e mostri loro il posto che non ti è indifferente, perchè in seguito sappiano dov'è senza esitazioni. Affinchè non sbaglino, affinchè non esitino con i passi quando saranno soli. Tutto sommato, come alcuni alberi che camminano ma strani e mutilati, come alberi sulle ruote — mi viene da dire — andiamo a far visita alle nostre stesse radici. *Luminaţia è il giorno dell'Illustrissimo Morto. É il giorno degli illustrissimi: del trisavolo e della trisavola, del nonno e della nonna. É il giorno dell'illustrissimo Padre. Il giorno in cui essi escono dalla parte oscurata della memoria e entrano nella luce del pensiero e della rimembranza. Là, vicino alla tomba, la fiamma della candela diventa una lente. Se guardi attraverso essa, vedi il volto di tuo padre. E quello di tua madre. La fiamma della candela è, come diceva un poeta, «un buco nella parete del paradiso». E ci sono tante candele sulle colline che si può ben dire che Luminaţia* è il giorno in cui le pareti del Paradiso che danno verso di noi sono tutte bucherellate. In corrispondenza di ogni buco un volto caro

Alla luce di questa geografia, i fuochi con la ritualità mettono in moto, con l'ideologia che li mantiene e con la loro specificità – bassamente precristiana/ discretamente religiosa, grazie ad alcune vicinanze temporali che non possono essere ignorate – si costituiscono come usanze atte a suscitare adesioni e riflessioni che riguardano queste opzioni.[37]

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aspetta che vieni ad incontrarlo. Che vieni al parlatoio — si può dire — perchè non so, e nessuno lo può dire, chi è libero e chi è prigioniero" (Mureşan 2002: 1).

[37] Variante italiana: Maria Luisa Lombardo.

RUMÄNISCHE EßKULTUR ZWISCHEN TRADITION UND WANDEL

ALEXANDRU POPESCU

In meinem Beitrag werde ich rumänisches Brauchtum behendeln, in dessen Rahmen traditionelle Nahrungsmittel sowie das Essen und Trinken eine wichtige funktionelle Rolle spielen. Dadurch lassen sich auch Inovationnen und Wandlungaprozesse feststellen, die das dazugehörende Brauchtum in letzten Jahrzehnten beeinflußt und verändert haben. Diese Wandlungsprozesse sind wiederum ein Ergebnis der Veränderungen der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Lage, des Lebensstils, Änderungen der Mentalität und der religiösen Einstellung sowohl im dorflichen als auch urbanen Bereich.

Esskultur umfasst das gesamte kulturelle Umfeld der Ernährung, also beispielsweise Dekoration und Tischsitten, Rituale und Zeremonien, Speisen als Symbole, oder auch regionale Spezialitäten im Laufe der Zeit, die damit auch kulturelle Identifikation darstellen.[1]

Die Eßkultur ist das Forschungsthema nicht nur der Ethnographie/Ethnologie sondern auch der Ernährungssoziologie, die unter anderem auch mit der gesellschaftlichen Komponente von Ernährung beschäftigt. Forschungsfelder sind Unterschiede in den Kulturen, Veränderungen von Essgewohnheiten in der Geschichte und deren Gründe.[2]

Die Bedeutung des Themenbereichs des Eßkultur besteht darin, daß hierbaei stattfindende Änderungen einen Indikator für Strukturänderungen im wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und auch geistigen Leben eine Volkes darstellen. Zur Erforschung dieser Bereiche ist es daher erforderlich, auch im internetionalen Rahmen verschiedene wissenschaflicher Disziplinen heranzuziehen.

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[1] Gert von Paczensky, Anna Dünnebier, *Kulturgeschichte des Essens und Trinkens*, München: Orbis, 1999; Gunter Hirschfelder, *Europäische Esskultur. Eine Geschichte der Ernährung von der Steinzeit bis heute,* Campus, Frankfurt am Main, 2001; Carlo Petrini, *Slow Food: The Case for Taste (Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History)*, Columbia University Press, 2004.

[2] Eva Barlösius, *Soziologie des Essens. Eine sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Einführung in die Ernährungsforschung*, München: Verlag Juventa, 1999.

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 237–246, Bucureşti, 2007

CHARAKTERISTIKA DER RUMÄNISCHEN EßKULTUR

Erste Forschung zur rumänischen Eßkultur gehen auf die 1930er Jahre zurück, als sich insbesondere Ärzte im Zuge iuhrer Tätichkeit zur Verbesserung des Lebensniveaus der Bauern mit diesem Bereich zu beschäftigen beganen.[3] Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg schenkten vermehrt auch Historiker und Ethnographen dieser Thematik Beachtung.

Die traditionelle Nahhrungskultur wurde von ihrer wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklung maßgeblich beeinflußt. Bedingt durch die landwirtschaftliche und klimatische Vielfalt des von Rumänen besiedelten Territoriums waren sowohl die Landwirtschaft als auch die Viehzucht von Bedeutung. Eine wichtige Rolle spelte auch der Anbau von Genüse, Obst und Wein. Diese Vielfalt der Wirtschaftsformen spiegelte sich auch in der Verschiedenheit der traditionellen Ernährung (Nahrungsmittel, Speisen und Getränke) und der Eßkultur wieder.

Obwohl sich im Lauf der Jahrhunderte die Wirtschaftsformen geändert haben, so bleiben grundlegende Konstanten wie die Abhängigkeit der traditionellen Eßkultur von Jahreszeiten und Jahresbrauchtum doch weitgehend gleich. Im Mittelalter aber auch später waren die Bauern hierbei weitgehend autark und produzierten die benötigten Nahrungsmitteln selbst. Mit Ausnahme von gewissen Produkten wie Salz wurde kaum etwas dazugekauft.

Auch im urbanen Bereich, vor allem in den unteren sozialen Schichten, blieb der ländlch/dörflich beinflußte Charekter der Nahrung durch Jahrhunderte hindurch weitgehend erhalten. Innerhalb der oberen sozialen Schichten, vor allem in der Adelsschicht, bei den Bojaren, waren freilich auch aud dem Ausland kommende Einflüsse festzustellen, die unter anderem aus Griechland, der osmanisch beeinflußten Walachei und der Moldau sowie im Falle Transylvaniens und des Banats aus Mitteleuropa stammten.

Hinsichtlich der strukturellen Gliederung der traditionellen Ernährungsformen sei im folgenden auf die Einstellung des Ethnographen Valeriu Butură verwiessen.[4]

1. Nahrungsgrundstoffe inerhalb des ganzen Jahres: Weizen, der vor allem bei Festen im Jahresbrauchtum Verwendung fand. Mais hatte seit dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert insbesondere im der Alltagsnahrungskultur sein wichtiger Platz;

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[3] I. Claudian, *Alimentaţia poporului român în cadrul antropogeografiei si istoriei economice* [Die Eernährung des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen der Antropogeographie und der Wirtschaftgeschichte], Bucureşti: Fundaţia pentru Literatură, 1993; G. Benedeto, *Anchetă asupra alimentaţiei ţăranului român din Munţii Apuseni* [Umfrage über die Ernährung der bauern aus dem Westgebirgen], „Clujul medical", XVII/11-12, 1936; M. Enescu, A. Radenschi, *Contribuţii la studiul alimentaţiei ţăranului moldovean, cu observaţii asupra pelagroşilor* [Beiträge zur Studium der Nahrung der moldauischen Bauern], „Revista de igienă socială", VII/9, 1937.

[4] Valer Butură, *Etnografia poporului român. Cultura materială* [Zur Volkskunde des rumänischen Volkes. Materielle Kultur], Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1978, S. 283-286.

2. saisonbedingte Grundnahrungsmittel wie Fleisch, Gemüse, Milch, Hönig, Eier;
3. nahrungsmittel und Getränke, die im religiösen Brauchtum insgesamt eine Rolle spielen und auf die hier besonders eingegangen werden soll.

ZUR FUNKTION DER NAHRUNGSMITTEL UND DES ESSENS IN VOLKSBRÄUCHEN UND BEI TRADITIONELLEN FESTEN

Verschiedene Nahrungsmittel spielen in unterschiedenen Formen eine rituelle und traditionelle Rolle in den meisten Volksbräuchen des Kalender-, Arbeits- und Lebenszyklus. Diese wichtige funktionelle Bedeutung läßt sich auf folgende Weise charakterisieren:

1. gemeinsame Festessen mit rituellen und traditionellen Speisen;
2. das Verschenken von Lebensmittel an die Teilnehmer der Braäuche;
3. das Verteilen von solchen Nahrungsmitteln als Andenken an Verstorbene und als Almosen.

Nahrungsmittel besitzen innerhgalb des Volksbrauchtums verschiedene Funktionen:

a. *die magische, rituelle Funktion* ist bei verschiedenen Bräuchen im Kalender- und Arbeitsjahr anzutreffen. So haben manche Nahrungsprodukte beispelsweise im Brauchtum aus der Arbeitswelt die Rolle eines guten Vorzeichens, eines *Omens* mit Bezug auf die Fruchbarkeit bei Tier und Pflanze sowie auch die Gesunheit der Menschen betreffend. Letzten Endes symbolisiert die Fülle an Nahrunsmitteln auch künftigen Wohlstand und Reichtum. Gleiczeitig wird der Verwendung gewisser Nahrungsmittel bei rituellen Handlungen auch eine *apotropäische*, eine Schutzfunktion gegen Gefahren für Mesnsch und Tier und für die Ernte beigemessen.
b. *Die religiöse Funktion* spielt in den meisten Volksbräuchen eine wichtige Rolle, besonders im Totenbrauchtum: Nahrungsmittel finden Verwendung als rituelle Geschenke für die Verstorbenen und werden auch an bestimmten Tagen des Kirchenjahres als Almosen verteilt. Im Lauf des Kirchenjahres ist vor allem das Oster- und Weihnachtsbrausctum von Bedeutung.
c. *Die soziale Funktion* kommt bei Geschenken zu gewissen Zeiten im Jahreslauf oder bei gemeinsamen Festessen, rituellen Mahlzeiten zum Ausdruck. Mit Gaben belohnt werden beispielsweise Personen, die im Rahmen von Weihnachtslieder vortragen oder auch die Helfer bei der Ernte.

DIE WICHTIGSTEN NAHRUNGMITTEL, SPEISEN UND GETRÄNKE IM VOLKSBRAUCHTUM UND BEI TRADITIONELLEN FESTEN

Im folgenden werden wir verschiedene Volksbräuche und rituelle Feste behandeln, bei denen die Zubereitung und der Verzehr bestimmter Speisen und Getränke eine Rolle speilen (traditionelle Bezeichnung, Termine, spezyfische Nahrungsmittel, Speisen, Getränke; Funktion; aktuelles Stadiul). Im weiteren soll auf Wandlungsprozesse bei diesen Bräuchen einggegangen werden.[5]

A. Bräuche im Jahreslauf und Arbeitsbräuchen.

Frühling:

- *Mucenici* (Märtyrertag) – 9.März, Beginn der Feldarbeit; man ißt „Colacul plugarilor" (der „Ackerskringel") aus dem Weizen der vorigen Ernte; apothropäische Funktion; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Sâmbra oilor, Măsurişul Oilor* („Die Schafevermessung") – Georgstag (23. April): der Beginn der Hirtensaison; im jeden Haus und bei den gemeinsamen Mahlen aß man „die erste Milch", Kringel, Lammfleisch; soziale und apotropäische Funkion für die Gesundheit der Menschen und der Tiere; der Brauch kennt noch eine gewisse Verbreitung.
- *Paparuda* („Regenbeschwörerin"): gemeinsames Mahl; gegen die Dürre; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Lunea păstorilor* („Der Hirtenmontag") – der erste Montag in Osternfasten; man aß Maiskuchen; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Paşte* („Das Osterfest"): bemalten Eier, Kringel, Produkte aus Schwein-und Lammfleisch.
- *Armindeni* (am ersten Mai): man ißt Lammfleisch, man trinkt Rotwein; apotropäische Funktion für die Gesunheit der Menschen.

Sommer:

- *Retezatul stupilor* („die Binnenkorbsschneiden") – *Sfântul Ilie (*Hl. Elias) 20. Juli; man aß Honig und trinkt Honigschnaps; der Brauch, der mit der Imkerei in Zusammenhang stand, ist verschwunden.
- *Legatul viilor* („Weingartenbindung") – Mariä Himmelsfahrt (15. August); man aß Traubenopferkuchen; der Brauch ist verschwunden.

[5] Für allgemeine Informationen zum rumänischen Brauchtum siehe: Alexandru Popescu, *Tradiţii de muncă româneşti în obiceiuri, folclor, artă populară* [Rumänische Arbeitstraditionen im Volksbrauch, in der Folklore und in der Volkskunst], Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 1986; Mihai Pop, *Obiceiuri tradiţionale româneşti* [Rumänische traditionelle Bräuche], Bucureşti: Editura Univers, 1999; Ion Ghinoiu, *Obiceiuri populare de peste an. Dicţionar* [Volksbräuche während des Jahres], Bucureşti: Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1997. Für allgemeine Informationen zum Volksbrauch in Verbindung mit der traditionellen Eßkultur sihe Ofelia Văduva, *Actul alimentar – creator de rol şi statut social* [Die Eßkulturhandlung als Schöpfer von Rolle und sozialer Status], „Anuarul Institutlui de Etnografie şi Folclor", 6/1995: 11-116.

- *Cununa grâului* („Weizenkranz"): Erntebräuche; gemeinsame Mahl für Personen, die bei der Ernte geholfen haben; man aß Speisen aus Weizen; sozialle Funktion; der Brauch ist verschwunden.

Herbst:

- *Cristovul viilor* (der Weingartenernte); man gab Traubenalmosen; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Sf. Dumitru, Sânmedru (*Der Tag des Hl. Demeter) – 25. Oktober; Almosen in Kringeln, Brezeln, Früchte; apotropäische Funktion und in Verbindung mit dem Totenkult
- *Areţi* (zum Ende der Hirtenarbeit) – 8. November; gemeinsame Mahl: „turta berbecilor" (rundes „Schafbockbrot" aus Maismehl); apotropäische Funktion und Versicherung der Kohesion der Arbeitsgruppe; der Brauch ist verschwunden

Winter:

- *Ignat*, (der Tag an dem Schweine geschlachtet wurden) – 29. Dezember; „Schweinalomsen": Scheinfleisch, Wurst, gekochter Weizen – *Crăciunul* (Weihnachtsfeiertage) – 24./25. Dezember; traditionelle Speisen aus Schweinfleisch, man schenkt den Weihnachtliedersänger Kringel (heute Bretzel), „turtă" – rundes Weizenbrot (heute Gugelkopf); die Bräuche gehören dem religiösen Zyklus mit traditionellen apotropäischen Funktionen.
- *Anul Nou* (Silvester) – 31. Dezember / 1. Januar; traditionelle Speisen aus Schweinfleisch (Wurst), Weizen (Kringel), die auch den de Weihnachtliedersänger geschenkt werden; *Omen*-Funktion; die traditionelle Speisen werden heute durch gekauften Produkten (Bretzel, Kuchen, Gugelkopf) erzetzt;
- *Sf. Ion, Sântion* (Hl. Johannes); gemeinsame Frauenmahl: Eier, Fleischgerichte, Getränke
- *Arezanul sau Gurbanul Viilor* (Weingartenfest) – 1. Februar: man trank Wein; apotopäische Funktion, der Brauch ist verschwunde.

Die Analyse des Zyklus des Kalender- und Arbeitsjahres zeigt, daß die meisen Volksbräuche und traditionellen Feste, die mit rituell verwendeten Nahrungsmitteln und Getränken in Verbindung stehen, im Frühling, also zu Beginn des bäuerlichen Jahres, des Ackerbaus und Hirtenwesens stattfinden. Solche Bräuche haben in erster Linie eine apotropäische und Schutzfunktion. Insbesondere das Osterbrauchtum ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil innerhalb der Vielfalt der Frühlingsbräuche. Änliches Brauchtum findet man auch im Herbst, zur Zeit der Ernte, der Weinlese und generell zum Ende des Arbeitsjahres. Eine weitere wichtige Festzeit im Jahreslauf waren die Weihnachtstagen und die mit ihnen verbundenen Bräuche

B. Bräuche im Lebenslauf

Geburt

– *Prima scaldă* ("das erste Bad") in dessen Wasser man Weizenähren, Milch, Zucker, Eier legt; apotropäische Funktion: Gesundheit und Lebenserfolg fürs Kind
– *Masa Ursitoarelor* („der Norntisch") auf dem gewisse Nahrungsmittel zu findem sind: Brot, Kringel, Salz, Honig, die die kunftige Qualiteten des Kinds symbolisieren.
– Zu Festtagen (Weihnachten, Ostern) besuchen die Eltern des Kinds die Taufpaten und bringen gewisse Nahrungsmittelsgeschenke: Kringel, Schweinkotelett; soziale, zeremonielle Funktion.

Diese Bräuche sind noch lebendig.

Hochzeit

Colacul miresei („der Brautkringel"), der das junge Paar zusammen ißt; *Omen*-Funktion; der Brauch ist noch lebendig.

Totebräuchen : An bestimmten Tagen im Jahreslauf werden besondere Gebäcke „moşii" („die Alten") in verschedenen Formen (Menschen-, Tiergestalt) zum Andenken an die Verstorbenen als Almosen ausgeteilt. Die wichtigsten traditionellen Daten, als Almosen ausgeteilt werden, sind:

– *„Sânpetru de iarnă"* (Hl. Petrus im Winter) – 15. Januar: Milchprodukte, Speisen aus Weizen, Honig
– *Mucenici* („Märtyrer") – 9. März: Teigformen (40 oder 44) genannt „sfinţi" („Heiligen").
– *Înviere* (Aufverstehung): Kringel, Speisen
– *Sânziene* - 23./24. Juni: Erste Früchte
– *Der Thomas Sonntag* (Erster Sonntag nach dem Ostern): Eier, Kringel
– *Ispas* (der sechste Donnertag nach dem Ostern): frischer Schafkäse, Zwiebel, Schnaps
– *Joimari:* Speisen
– *Sânpetru de vară* (der Samstag vor dem Pfingsten): Milch, Speisen, Brot
– *Rusitori* (der siebten/neunten Tag nach Pfingsten): Kringel, Kirschen
– *Sîntilie* (Hl. Elias) - 20. Juli: Fruchte, Brezel, Speisen
– *Moşii Schimbării la faţă* (6. August): Weintraube, Honig
– *Sânmedru* (Hl. Demeter) – 25. Oktober: Kringel, gekochte Weizenkorn
– *Ajunul Crăciunului* (Weihnachtsvorabend) – 24. Dezember: Fastenspeisen, Kringel, Brot
– *Crăciun* (Weihnacht) – 25. Dezember: Schweinspeisen und Produkte aus Weizen.

Es ist zu bemerken, daß die meisten dieser Bräuche sind noch aktuell.

Typisch für die rumänische Volkskultur ist die nach wie vor wichtige Rolle ritueller Lebensmittel und Speisen im Zyklus des Lebenslauf während des Jahres,

wobei vor allem das Totenbrauchtum sowohl im dörflichen als auch im urbanen Bereich stark vertreten ist.

Die Analyse der in den letzten Jahrzehnten erfolgten Änderungen im Fest- und Jahresbrauchtum, in dessen Rahmen die rituelle Verwendung von Nahrungsmitteln eine Rolle spielt, zeigt folgendes Bild:

a. Als Folge der Änderungen traditioneller Wirtschaftsformen und durch die Modernisierung der Landwirtschaft sind viele Bräuche aus der Arbeitswelt verschwunden.
b. Der Säkularisierungprozeß hat Bräuche und Riten mit einer ursprunglich magischen Funktion zum allmählichen Verschwinden gebracht.
c. Die noch verwandenen und ausbeübten Volksbrüche und Feste stehen in Zusammenhang mit dem religiösen Kirchenjahr, etwa dem Oster- und Weihnachtszyklus und dem Totengedenken; ähnlich ist noch das Brauchtum um Neujahr, dem die Funktion eines *Omens* und Unterhaltunsfunktion zukommt.

WANDLUNGSTENDENZEN BEI TRADITIONALLEN NAHRUNGSMITTELN, SPEISEN UND GETRÄNKEN IM FESTBRAUCHTUM

In folgenden werden die wichtigsten Formen von Nahrungsmitteln, Speisen und Getränken im Rahmen der Nahrungs- un Eßkultur behandeln.

Aus *Weizen* werden folgende Nahrungsmittel bzw. Speisen zubereitet: Weizenmehl; ungesäuertes und gesäuertes Brot; Bretzeln; gekochter Weizen; Kuchen aus gekochten Weizenkörnern, Zucker und Nüssen; Gebäcke in anthropomorfer, zoomorpher oder phytomorpher Form im Rahmen des Totenbrauchtums, die sogenannten „moşii"; Osterkuchen.

Dem Weizen kam aufgrund der Bedeutung der Landwirtschaft eine besondere Rolle zu. Die rituelle Bedeutung des Weizens liegt darin, daß er schon lange als Nutzpflanze Verwendung findet und daher ein sehr wichtiges Nahrungsmittel darstellt. Die Wissenschatler, die sich mit der Bedeutung des Weizens beschäftigen, beziehen sich deshalb immer wieder um die Kraft, die im Brot beigemessen wurde. Diese Kraft kommt in einer Reihe von Bräuchen und Riten zum Ausdruck sowie auch in Sprichwörtern. Andererseits wird das Brot als ein sozialer Faktor von großer Bedeutung und die rumänische traditionelle Zivilisation als eine „Brotzivilisation" betrachtet.[6]

[6] Ofelia Văduva, *Repere simbolice în cultura populară – pâinea şi alte modele din aluat* [Symbolische Ziechen in der Volkskultur – das Brot und die aus Teig gebakenen Formen], „Revista de etnografie şi folclor", 1/1981, S. 58, 62; Ofelia Văduva, *Civilizaţia pâinii* [Die Zivilisation des Brotes], „Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor", 5/1993, S. 12; Maria Bocşe, *Grâul – finalitate şi simbol în obiceiurile cu carcater agrar în Valea Barcăului* [Der Weizen: Zweck und Symbol in den Agrarbräuchen des Barcău-Tales], „Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei", IX, 1977, S. 123.

Hierbei sind die verschiedenen Formen der Gebildbrote von Bedeutung, spielen diese doch bei allen Bräuchen eine große Rolle. Manche Wissenschaftler bringen etwa die runde dieser Gebäcke mit dem Sonnekult in Verbindung. Im dörflichen Bereich werden diese Gebildbrote auch heute noch verwendet, alledings stellt man sie vielfach nicht mehr selber her, sondern ersetzt sie vielmehr durch gekaufte Gebäcke (beispielsweise Kringel durch Bretzel). Eine weitere, heute noch anzutreffende Gebäckart sind die „mucenici", die am 9. März, dem Martyrertag, verzehrt und auch verschenkt werden. Im Rahmen des Totenbrauchtums haben sich vor allem bei den Geschenkenbräuchen anläßlich des Gedenkes an Verstorbene im städtischen Bereich Änderungen ergeben. Traditionelle Weizenkuchen werden auch weiterhin zubereitet, sie spielen auch für das religiöse Brauchtum eine Rolle. Andere Speisen, etwa Brot, Gugelhupf oder Stollen werden heute fertig gekauft und nicht mehr selbst zubereitet.

Fleisch steht bei den Grundnahrungsmitteln an zweiter Stelle, wobei Schweinfleisch vor allem im Winter, etwa zu Weihnachten, als Sülze oder Wurst gegessen wird. Zu Ostern und allgemein im Frühling steht traditionellerweise Lammfleisch auf dem Speiseplan. Mochte eine Familie auch noch so arm sein, an diesen Feiertagen bemühte sich jeder, ein Fleischgericht auf den Tisch zu bringen.

Früchte wurden je nach des Jahreszeit, der Saison, zu bestimmten traditionellen Festtagen verschenkt. Hier ist auf das Gedenken an Verstorbene hinzuweisen. Zu diesem Anlaß schenkte man vor allem Trauben und Kirschen, aber auch gekochte Pflaumen.

Milchprodukte (Schaf- und Ziegenkäse) wurden zu bestimmten Terminen im Jahreslauf verschenkt.

Mais Speisen aus Maismehl, etwa Brot dienten seltener als Geschenk.

Gemüse, vor allem Bohnen, die als Fastenspeise Verwendung finden, haben auch ihren Platz im Jahresbrauchtum.

Honig spielte insbesondere bei allen der Imkerei nahestehenden Bräuche eine Rolle.

Eier werden ähnlich wie die Gebildbrote verwendet. Sie galten nicht nur al Nahrungsmittel, sondern vielmehr wurden ihnen rituelle Bedeutung beigemessen. Im diesen Zusammenhang stehen auch die gefärbten und mit verschedenen Motiven bemaalten Eier, die zu Ostrern und bei anderen Frühlingsbräuchen Verwendung finden, die man selbst ißt, verschenkt oder bei Bräuchen als etwas „Magisches" verwendet. Diese Bräuche sind bei den Rumänen sowohl im dörflichen als auch im städtischen Milieu bis in die Gegenwart erhalten geblieben. Im Fall der bemalten Eier stellen diese Zeugnisse der rumänichen Volkskunst dar.

Traditionelle Getränke Zudiesem zählen unter anderem Rotwein, Most, Met und Schnaps („ţuica").Getränke wie Wein oder Schnaps werden auch heute noch auf dem Dorf hergestellt, und, da sie als traditionelle Getränke sehr beliebt sind, auch in der Stadt verkauft.

Wie diese Beispiele zeigen, haben in den letzten Jahrzehnten vielfach grunlegende Änderungen bei der Verwendung von Nahrungsmitteln und Speisen im Jahres- und Lebensbrauchtum stattgefunden. Bedingt durch soziale und wirtschaftliche Wandlungsprozesse hat sich vielfach das Brauchtum geändert, haben Bräuche ihren zuvor „magischen Charakter" verloren und werden oftmals nicht mehr ausgeübt. Dadurch haben auch viele Nahrungsmittel ihre zuvor „rituelle" Bedeutung verloren. Ein Beispiel für auch weiterhin verwendete Nahrungsmittel und Speisen sind etwa Gebildbrote oder „coliva", Opferkuchen, die aus gekochten Weizenkörnern, Zuckern und Nüssen zubereitet werden sowie auch gefärbte Eier und manche Fleischgerichte. Diese Nahrungsmittel bzw. Speisen werden vor allem im dörflichen Bereich verwendet. Bei den Nahrungsmitteln und Speisen im Kirchenjahr sind Fastenspeisen nach wie vor wichtig.

Ein Wandlungsprozess bei traditionellen Speisen besteht darin, daß diese vielfach nicht mehr daheim zubereitet, sondern durch gekaufte ersetzt werden, so werden beispielsweise Bretzel heite nicht mehr selbst erzeugt, sondern gekauft.

An diesder Stelle soll aber doch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß ungeachtet der Änderungen in Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, durch das kommunistische Totalitarismus auch weiterhin Nahrungsmittel und Speisen in ritueller Art und Weise verwendet wurden und vor allem während der zwei großen religiösen Höhepunkte des Kirchenjahres, des Oster- und Weihnachtsfestes, sowie zu Neujahr, eine wichtige Rolle speilen.

DIE ROLLE DER KOMPARATIVEN ERFORSCHUNG DER NAHRUNGS- UND EßKULTUR IN DER GEGENWART

Kann man von gemeinsamen Tendenzen, ja einer gemeinsamen Geschichte der Nahrungs- und Eßkultur der Völker in Südosteuropa, im Donauraum sprechen ? Ungeachtet der ethnischen, religiösen und sprachlichen Vielfalt der Völker in diesem Raum sind doch eine Reihe von Gemeinsamkeiten festzustellen, so beispielsweise Ähnilichkeiten bei den traditionellen Wirtschaftformen. Als weiteres Beispiel läßt sich die Zugehörigkeit zu den orthodoxen Kirchen Südosteuropas anführen. Mochte deren Gläubige auch verschiedenen Völkern angehören, so waren doch traditionelle Nahrungsmittel und Speisen, etwa zu den hohen kirchlichen Feiertagen – zu Ostern und zu Weihnachten sowie auch Fastenspeisen – sehr ähnlich.

Die Donau besaß eine große Role für die wechselseitige Beeinflussung verschiedener Kulturen wie etwa im Banat oder, auch außerhalb der eigentlichen Donauregionen, in Siebenbürgen. Zwischen den Völkern, die in diesem Raum leben, den Rumänen, Magyaren, deutschen Ansiedlern und zahlreichen weiteren Gruppen existierte ein Austausch in vielen Lebensbereichen, darunter auch bei der Eßkultur. Der Donau kam aber auch Bedeutung bei der Vermittlung von Nahrungs-

un Eßkultur, von Speisen und Getränken aus Mitteleuropa nach Südosteuropa zu. So haben die Rumänen die auf dem Rost gebratene Würste aus Rinfleisch („mici"), sowie den mit Siphon aufgespritzen Wein („G'spritzten" – „spriț"), aber auch Wiener Schnitzel und andere Gerichte kennengelernt. Nicht vergessen darf man auf die Einfluß auf die Eßkultur, der aus der jahrhundertelangen osmanischen Herrschaft in Südosteuropa herrührt.

Die Donau ist bis im Laufe der Geschichte bis in die Gegenwart forwirkend, ein Mittler zwischen den Kulturen gewesen. Die mittel- und westeuropäische Eßkultur hat sich entlang der Donau nach Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa verbreitet, gleichzeitig gelangen auch Einflüsse aus dem Osten und Südosten donauaufwärts. Zur Erforschung dieser vielfältigen Kulturkontakte ist es notwendig, daß sich verschiedene Wissenschaftdisziplinen – von der Ethnographie/Ethnologie bis zur Soziologie und Wirtschaftsgeschichte – in einer komparativen Perspektive damit beschäftigen. Der Wandel und Austausch im Bereich der Eßkultur macht von Staatsgrenzen nicht Halt, daher ist zur Analyse der komplexen Nahrungskultur Südosteuropas und Europas im Allgemeinen nicht nur Interdiziplinarität erforderlich, sondern vielmehr internationale Kooperation bei der Forschung.[7]

[7] Ein Beispiel solcher wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit stellt die internationale Session *Vom Schwarzwald bis zum Schwarzen Meer. Die Donau als Mittler europäischer Eßkultur*, in Österreich (Stift Melk, 3.-4., Juni 1998) dar, die von dem Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropa in Wien organisiert worden ist.

BEGRIFFE DER RUMÄNISCHEN IDENTITÄTSFINDUNG: DAS KOSMISCHE CHRISTENTUM

ILIE MOISE

In einem 1953 verfassten und „Das Schicksal der rumänischen Kultur"[1] betitelten Artikel stellte Mircea Eliade zum erstenmal den grossen Einfluss des geschichtlichen Druckes auf die rumänische Geistigkeit zur Diskussion. Der Autor unterstrich hier, dass die fast tausend Jahre andauernden Barbareneinfälle und die andauernden kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Türken und Tataren während fünf Jahrhunderten, unter den Bedingungen einer fast vollständigen Isolierung vom restlichen Europa „die Rumänen zwangen ihre schöpferischen Kräfte fast ausschliesslich dem Bereich der Volkskultur zuzuwenden. Bedrängt von den geschichtlichen Ereignissen, ging der Genius der Rumänen in jenen Lebensbereichen auf, die sich dem Druck der Geschichte entziehen konnten: dem Kosmos und seinen Rhythmen (Bewegung). Die Vorfahren der Rumänen waren bereits Christen, bevor sich das rumänische Volk unter den qualvollen Bedingungen geschichtlicher Bedrängung herausbildete. So kommt es, dass die der rumänischen Geistigkeit so eigene Sympathie mit dem All nicht als ein heidnisches Gefühl sondern als eine Form des christlichen liturgischen Geistes in Erscheinung trat. Lange Zeit glaubte man, dass Naturgefühl und der Einklang mit der kosmischen Bewegung eine heidnische Spiritualität verrate. [...] In Wirklichkeit hatte das Urchristentum die Natur geschätzt. [...] Für das Urchristentum, so wie es besonders von den Aposteln des Ostens aufgefasst wurde, war das All die Schöpfung Gottes, und die Bewegung des Kosmos wurde als kosmischer Gottesdienst verstanden.

Indem sie sich geistig der Natur zuwandten, kam es zu keiner Rückkehr zum Heidentum, sondern im Gegenteil, die Rumänen konnten den großartigen Versuch der Christianisierung des Alls, der von den Aposteln begonnen worden war und aus verschiedenen Gründen im Mittelalter in Westeuropa unterbrochen wurde,

[1] Mircea Eliade, *Destinul culturii româneşti* [Die Bestimmung der rumänischen Kultur], în „Profetism românesc" [Rumänisches Prophetentum], I, Bucureşti, Editura Roza Vânturilor, 1990.

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 247–258, Bucureşti, 2007

hinüberretten [...] Für das Urchristentum nimmt das All am Göttlichen Drama teil. „so wie die menschliche Seele nach Erlösung dürstet, so seufzt und stöhnt die ganze Natur in Erwartung der Auferstehung Übrigens findet man diese kosmische Liturgie in der rumänischen Volksdichtung."[2] Im Weiteren legt der Religionsphilosoph seine Ansicht über den *Tod* in der Volksballade „Mioritza" und „Meister Manole" [„Miorița", „Meşterul Manole"], dar, die seiner Ansicht nach ein typisches Beispiel des Hand in Hand Gehens zwischen der rumänischen Geistigkeit und der kosmischen Liturgie sind. Eliade schlussfolgert: „In diesen rumänischen Todesmythen kann man eine archaische und zugleich christliche Sichtweise erkennen: der Tod ist das höchste Opfer im Mysterium durch das der Mensch sich vervollkommnet und sein Leben auf eine höhere Stufe des Seins hebt, und das, weil der Tod für die Rumänen, wie auch für andere Kulturen, nicht Auslöschung, ja nicht einmal eine Verminderung des Lebens darstellt, sondern eine neue Daseinsweise, auf einer anderen Ebene die näher zu Gott ist.[...] All das bedeutet, dass die Todesmythen – als Mysterium der Selbstaufgabe gedeutet – noch im Bewusstsein des ganzen rumänischen Volkes lebendig geblieben sind. Das ist nicht ohne Bedeutung. Man weiss, dass die Neudeutung des Todes einer der bedeutungsvollsten „Siege des Christentums ist."[3]

Das Syntagma „kosmisches Christentum", durch das Eliade die Auffassung des rumänischen Volkes über den christlichen Glauben ausdrückte, verwendete er erst 1969 in seinem Buch „Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan". Für ganz Osteuropa und daher auch für die christliche Auffassung des rumänischen Volkes sind eine Vielzahl von „heidnischen" archaischen religiösen Elementen charakteristisch, die manchmal kaum erst christianisiert waren. „Es geht hier um eine neue für den Südosten Europas typische Religionsübung, die wir *kosmisches Christentum* benannten, weil es einerseits, das christologische Mysterium auf die gesamte Natur projizierte und anderseits die historischen Elemente des Christentums gering achtete und demgegenüber die liturgische Seite der menschlichen Existenz in der Welt betonte."[4]

Das Thema des kosmischen Christentums wird von Eliade in seinem Werk „Geschichte der Religionen und religiösen Ideen"[5] wiederaufgenommen und zwar in einem Kapitel des zweiten Bandes („Einem kosmischen Christentum entgegen" [„Spre un creştinism cosmic"]) und in anderen drei Kapiteln des dritten Bandes („Das Überleben vorchristlicher religiöser Traditionen", „Symbole und Rituale eines kathartischen Tanzes" sowie „Die Hexenjagd und die Kümmernisse der Volksreligion"). In dem ersten der oben angeführten Kapitel zeigt der Autor die

[2] M. Eliade, *Profetism românesc* [Rumänisches Prophetentum], Bucureşti, Editura Roza Vânturilor, 1990, S 146–147.

[3] Daselbst, S 148, 149.

[4] A.a.O. S 246.

[5] Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credinţelor şi ideilor religioase* [Geschichte der religiösen Ideen und Riten], Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, I (1981), II (1986), III (1980).

Rolle der „Verallgemeinerung" der christlichen Botschaft „durch die Vermittlung der mythologischen Darstellung und einem anderen Assimilationsprozess des vorchristlichen religiösen Erbes. Es sei zuförderst auf die Mehrzahl der angeführten Symbole hingewiesen/die Taufe, der Lebensbaum, das Kreuz in Zusammenhang mit dem Lebensbaum, die Herkunft der als Sakramente dienenden Stoffe- das Öl, das Salböl, der Wein, das Weizenkorn – aus dem Blut des Erlösers / die gewisse, dem Regelzwang des Judaismus oder den Apokryphen entnommene Symbole in ihrer Wirkung verlängern und sogar verstärken.[...] Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass die christliche mythologische Vorstellungswelt Motive und Szenarien aus der kosmischen Religiosität entnehmen und verstärken, die aber schon vorher eine Deutung im biblischen Zusammenhang erfahren hatten.

Hinzu kam noch die Auslegung der Theologie und des christlichen mythologischen Vorstellungsvermögens, so dass ein Prozess verlängert wurde, der mit der Besitzergreifung Kanaans begonnen hatte."[6] Im Folgenden werden einige Beispiele für das Überleben im Christentum einiger archaischer Traditionen gegeben: die Umwandlung gewisser Götter oder mythologischer Helden in christliche Heilige (zahlreiche drachentötende Götter und Helden von Griechenland bis nach Irland und von Portugal bis zum Ural verwandeln sich alle in denselben Helden: den Heiligen Georg) die Zölle in den mandäischen und manichäischen Schriften, der Bildbereich von der Geburt Christi – der Stern oder die Lichtsäule, die über der Höhle leuchtet, sind dem parthischen Szenario der Geburt des Kosmokrators – Erlösers entlehnt usw. In demselben Kapitel wird auch eine Definition des kosmischen Christentums gegeben, dieselbe wie in dem Werk „Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan", aber mit folgendem Zusatz: die christliche Folklore inspiriert sich aus mehr oder weniger ketzerischen Quellen und ignoriert manchmal Mythen, Dogmen und Szenarien von groβer Wichtigkeit für die Theologie, wie z.B. das Verschwinden der biblischen Kosmogonie aus der europäischen Volkskunst, wobei die im Südosten Europas bekannte Kosmogonie eine dualistische Struktur besitzt.

Im Kapitel „Das Überleben vorchristlicher religiöser Traditionen" erklärt Eliade des Weiteren den Verlauf des Gestaltannehmens des kosmischen Christentums: „Die Bekehrung zum Christentum hat Symbiosen und religiöse Synkretismen nach sich gezogen, die, in vielen Fällen, auf augenfällige Weise die für die agraren und Hirtenkulturen typische Kreativität zeigen. [...] hinzuzufügen wäre noch, dass nach ihrer Verchristlichung, die in einigen Fällen nur oberflächlich war, zahlreiche Volkstraditionen sowie Ortsmythen anerkannt d.h. in die selbe „Heilsgeschichte" aufgenommen und in der Sprache des christlichen Glaubens und der christlichen Mythologie ausgedrückt wurden. So hat z.B. in den Legenden über den Heiligen Elias, Welche die Erinnerung an die Götter des Gewitters überlebt; [...] verschiedene Mythen und die den verschiedenen Göttinnen gewidmeten Kulte

[6] A.a.O., II. Band, S 389, 390.

wurden in die religiöse Volkskunst um die Heilige Maria eingeschlossen; schließlich wurden zahllose Formen und Varianten des heidnischen Erbes in demselben mythisch-rituellen nur oberflächlich verchristlichten Corpus gebündelt"[7] Der Autor gibt auch noch andere Beispiele, wie z.B. der griechischen Kallikantiari [Monster], dem Ritual der zwölf Tage zwischen Weihnachten und den Heiligen Drei Königen (mit dem Unterbreiten der Weihnachtslieder). Im Kapitel „Symbole und Rituale eines katharischen Tanzes" wird der rumänische Volkstanz der „căluşari" vorgestellt.

Schließlich behandelt Eliade im letzten Kapitel der „Geschichte der Religionen und religiösen Ideen" die Problematik des kosmischen Christentums und weist auf die Art und Weise hin, in der die katholische Kirche die Relikte der heidnischen Kulte und Glaubensüberlieferung behandelt hat: z.B. die peinliche Befragung durch die Inquisition der Anhängerinnen des Kultes der Göttin Diana Herodias und ihre Verurteilung als Täterinnen von *maleficia* satanischen Gehalts oder andererseits die Anprangerung der Benandanti [Hexenmeister] eines geheimen Fruchtbarkeitskults durch die Inquisition als Ausüber der schwarzen Magie. Zu Rumänien übergehend stellt der Autor fest, dass die Orthodoxe Kirche Rumäniens, wie auch die anderen orthodoxen Kirchen keine der Inquisition ähnlichen Einrichtungen besaßen und eine relative Toleranz gegenüber den heidnischen Elementen innerhalb des volkstümlichen Christentums aufwiesen. Er nimmt als Beispiel den lateinischen Begriff „striga", was Zauberin hieß und aus dem im Rumänischen „strigoi" [Gespenst] wurde oder die Umwandlung der Göttin Diana in „sânziana" oder „zâna" [gute Fee].

Seit 1983, als der letzte Band der „Geschichte der Religionen und religiösen Ideen" erschienen war, hat das Studium der religiösen rumänischen Folklore Fortschritte verzeichnet. Es mögen nur die wichtigsten davon genannt werden, die stellvertretend für viele stehen mögen: Ion Ghinoiu „Lumea de aici, de dincolo [Die Welt des Diesseits und die Welt des Jenseits] oder Antoneta Olteanu „Calendarele poporului român" [Die rumänischen Volkskalender]. Sie bezeugen die Auffassung des Christentums durch das rumänische Volk.

Bevor einige Religionspraktiken der Rumänen gezeigt werden, ist die Ausarbeitung einer verwendbaren Definierung des Begriffes „kosmisches Christentum" nötig.

Getrennt voneinander haben die beiden Teile des Begriffes folgende Bedeutungen:

1. Christentum: alle Religionen, die auf der Person und dem Leben Christi fußen.[8] In unserem Fall kann man das orthodoxe Christentum folgendermaßen definieren: der Glaube an einen Dreieinigen Gott bestehend aus Gott, dem Vater, den Schöpfer, aus Gottes eingeborenem

[7] Daselbst, III. Band, S 232.
[8] *Le Petit Larousse*, Paris, 1995.

Sohn, herabgestiegen vom Himmel, geboren von der Jungfrau Maria und gezeugt vom Heiligen Geist, der zum Menschen wurde, der sich für die Sünden der Menschen kreuzigen liess, begraben, am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren gen Himmel, von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten, Gottes ewiges Reich aufrichtend, an den Heiligen Geist, der von Gott, dem Herren ausgeht und aus dem Mund der Propheten sprach[9], die Gemeinde der Heiligen, die durch ihr Leben und ihren Glauben Gott wohlgefällig waren, den Heiligen Geist empfingen und Wunder vollbrachten, die nach ihrem Tode zu den Mittlern zwischen Christus und den Menschen werden; der Glaube, dass nach den Tode, als Folge der jeweiligen Lebensweise, die Seele entweder in den Himmel oder in die Hölle gelangt, der Glaube an die Engel, unsichtbare Wesen, die über die Menschen wachen, an die Teufel, gefallene Engel, die versuchen, die Menschen zu bösen Taten zu bewegen; an die religiösen Handlungen der Geistlichen Diener des Herren, Nachfahren der Apostel, die Gottes Gnade durch das Handauflegen während der Priesterweihe erlangen; an den Reliquienkult und an die Verehrung der Ikonen: an die christliche Moral.

2. kosmisch (von dem griechischen „Kosmos", d.h. „Ordnung"), bezüglich auf Kosmos, Weltall, Weltordnung.[10]

Das „kosmische Christentum" stellt also eine für Südosteuropa typische religiöse Schöpfung dar, eine Form des Christentums, die das christologische Mysterium auf die gesamte Natur ausdehnt und die historischen Elemente des Christentums nicht berücksichtigt, sondern im Gegenteil, die liturgische Seite des menschlichen Lebens betont. Innerhalb dieser Religionsausübung werden für die kosmische Religiosität typische Motive und Szenarien entlehnt und entwickelt. Außerdem werden zahlreiche Volkstraditionen und Ortsmythen sanktioniert und der „Heilsgeschichte" integriert und in derselben Sprache des Glaubens und der christlichen Mythologie wiedergegeben. Die für das kosmische Christentum spezifischen Riten, die auf mythischen und magischen Glaubensäußerungen fußen, werden nicht ausschließlich von Popen zelebriert, sondern können auch von Laien ausgeübt werden, wenn diese die Bedingungen, die für die einzelnen Riten gefordert werden, jeweils erfüllen.

Zu einem besseren Verständnis dieses Begriffes von Eliade, der berühmt wurde, mögen noch einige Informationen über die Christianisierung der dakisch-römischen Bevölkerung vorangeschickt werden. So schrieb der Historiker Ion Horaţiu Crişan, der das Fehlen von Dokumenten bezüglich der von den Dakern ausgeübten Religion beglaubigte und der sich in seinem Forschungen auf Mircea Eliade stützte, Folgendes: „Sie [die Religion – Hinweis von Ilie Moise] hat, wie auch in anderen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches in mehr oder weniger

[9] Siehe das orthodoxe Glaubensbekenntnis.
[10] *Le Petit Larousse*, Paris, 1995.

umgewandelter Form nicht nur den Prozess der Romanisierung, sondern sogar jenen der Christianisierung überlebt. Ein Beispiel dafür sind die zahlreichen getisch-dakischen oder dakisch-römischen heidnischen Elemente die im rumänischen Volksglauben vorhanden sind."[11] Als einzigen Ausweg aus diesem Dilemma sieht der Autor „den Schatz der rumänischen Volksgeistigkeit (die Rumänen sind die einzigen Nachfahren der Geten-Daker), denn es gilt, aus einer sekundären in eine primäre Quelle bei der Erforschung der Religion unserer Vorfahren heranzuziehen."[12] Eliade war tatsächlich der Erste, der auf die Bewahrung unter verschiedenen Formen der antiken Religionen hinwies.

Sicherlich hat sich, wie das auch bei den Slawen und den Balten bzw. den alten Germanen und den Nachfahren der Kelten der Fall war, das religiöse Erbe der Traken, mit einigen unumgänglichen Änderungen, in den Volksbräuchen und der Folklore der Balkanvölker und der Rumänen bewahrt.[13] In dem Vorwort des Buches „Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan" geht Eliade allerdings ins Detail: „Wenn wir von Kontinuität sprechen wollen, müssen wir in der Zeit weiter zurück gehen als bis zu der Geschichte der Geto-Daker, der dakisch-römischen Bevölkerung und ihrer Nachkommen, den Rumänen. Weil beispielsweise der Kult des Zamolxis, ebenso wie die Mythen, Symbole und Riten, die der Folklore der Rumänen zugrunde liegen, ihre Wurzeln in einer Welt geistiger Werte haben, die älter ist als die Kulturen aus der Zeit der Antike im Vorderen Orient und dem Mittelmeerraum."[14] Auf diese Weise kann man sagen, dass die Daker iherseits die Erben einer bis in das Neolithikum zurückreichenden Zivilisation waren, die den Zeitläufen der Geschichte bis in unsere Tage hinein getrotzt hat. Sicherlich "lebt keine religiöse Tradition ewig, ohne Veränderungen zu erfahren, sei es durch Neuschöpfungen, sei es durch Entlehnungen, Symbiose oder Eliminierungen, durch verschiedene Kontakte mit anderen Völkern und Glaubensrichtungen.[...] Die dakische Mythologie wurde von der römischen überlagert, aber nicht ganz und nicht endgültig, weil sie sich in die Gebirge und Hochebenen zurückziehen konnte. Noch dem Rückzug der römischen Legionen und Verwaltung entstand eine neue Folklore, man griff aber schrittweise auf die alten dakischen Überlieferungen zurück, allerdings in abgeänderter Form, d.h. römische Riten und Mythen, die von den Dakern angenommen worden waren. Die Bevölkerung war nun der von der römischen Verwaltung geforderten Religionsausübung ledig, so dass die mythischen dakischen Relikte die Freiheit des Ausdrucks wiedergewonnen, allerdings in einer neuen Zusammensetzung, die auch römische mythische Elemente enthielt, die von den romanisierten Dakern angenommen worden waren.

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[11] I.H. Crişan, *Burebista şi epoca sa* [Burebista und seine Zeit], Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1975, S 45.

[12] A.a.O. S 447

[13] Mircea Eliade, *Istoria ideilor şi credinţelor religioase* [Geschichte der religiösen Ideen und Riten], Band II S 169.

[14] Mircea Eliade, a.a.O. S 7

Diese Wiedergeburt der Mythen ist nichts anderes als dakisch-römische Mythologie, deren Inhalt dakisch und deren Form hauptsächlich römisch war."[15] Dieses sind klare Darlegungen, die den Prozess der Christianisierung der dakisch-römischen Bevölkerung treffend umreißen.

Es ist eine von allen akzeptierte Tatsache, dass die Herausbildung des rumänischen Volkes vor einem christlichen Hintergrund geschah. Der Prozess des Übertritts der Bevölkerung aus dem Gebiet zwischen den Karpaten, der Donau und dem Schwarzen Meer zum Christentum verlief nach 106 christlicher Zeitrechnung parallel zur Romanisierung der Geten-Daker, allerdings viel langsamer als diese (C. und D. Giurescu setzen für die Romanisierung zwei bis drei Generationen an). Mehr noch, die Historiker sind sich darüber einig, dass durch die Umwandlung Daziens in eine römische Provinz die Verbreitung des Christentums hier erleichtert und begünstigt wurde. „Die Kolonisierung dieses Territoriums wurde von Menschen aus den Römischen Imperium durchgeführt, aber die Meisten von ihnen kamen aus Kleinasien und der Balkanhalbinsel, wo es zahlreiche schon vom Apostel Paulus und seinem Schüler Titus gegründete christliche Gemeinden gab. Es ist schwer möglich, dass unter den Siedlern aus diesen Gebieten nicht auch getaufte Christen waren."[16] Außer diesen Siedlern förderten den Christianisierungsprozess auch die römischen Legionen (die V-te „Macedonica", die aus Palästina zwischen 167–168 n.Ch. her verlegt wurde und die V. Kohorte der III. Legion „Gemina", die nach 106 n. Ch. in Apulum stationiert wurde). Sicherlich trugen die sich erweiternden Handelsbeziehungen zwischen den römischen Städten Daziens und dem übrigen Imperium auch dazu bei.

Die Schnelligkeit, mit der die dakisch-römische Bevölkerung, die zukünftigen Rumänen, das Christentum annahmen, erweckte die Aufmerksamkeit der Historiker. Es scheint, dass den wesentlichen Beitrag der einheimische religiöse Fundus leistete und zwar die Religion der Daker, im Speziellen der Kult um Zamolxis. „Alle Teile dieser Religionsübung-Eschatologie, Immitation, Pythagoreismus, Asketentum, mystische Bildung (Astrologie, Therapie, Theurgie usw.)- unterstützen die Annäherung an das Christentum. Die beste und einfachste Erklärung für das Verschwinden des Zamolxis-Kults ist sicherlich die frühzeitige Christianisierung Daziens (vor 270 n.Ch.) [...] Man wird vergeblich nach möglichen Spuren des Zamolxis-Kultes in der rumänischen Folklore suchen, weil dieser nicht spezifisch ländlich war aber vor allem, weil Zamolxis, mehr als je einer der heidnischen Götter, sich für die Christianisierung eignete.[17]

Natürlich muss einschränkend hinzugefügt werden, dass trotz der Tatsache, dass dieser Kult nicht ländlichen Charakter hatte und nur von der Priesterkaste

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[15] Mircea Eliade, nach M. P. Jura, in: *Aus den Erinnerungen des Schiltales, eine Handschrift die uns vom Studenten Marcu Jura zur Verfügung gestellt wurde.*

[16] Mariana Baffi, *Dacia preromana e Romania protochristiana*, Roma, 1968, S. 36.

[17] Mircea Eliade, *De la Zalmoxis la Ginghis-Han* [Von Zalmoxis zu Dschginhis-Khan], Bucureşti, Editura ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1980, S. 77.

ausgeübt wurde, auch die dakischen Bauern Zugang zu dieser Gottheit hatten und ebenfalls an die Unsterblichkeit der Seele glaubten; sie bildeten schließlich den Kern der dakischen Heere im Kriegsfall und erschrecken die Feinde durch ihre Todesverachtung. So konnte die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Zamolxis und Christus den Dakern nicht verborgen bleiben: beide predigten ein Leben nach dem Tod, beide wurden begraben, für tot gehalten und beide waren auferstanden. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Daker, deren Mehrzahl Schafzüchter waren, den guten Hirten als eine Reinkarnation des Zamolxis ansahen. Diese Hypothese wird von der religiösen Struktur der rumänischen Dorfbevölkerung unterbaut: wie auch ihre dakischen Ahnen, die den Glauben an die Göttlichkeit des Zamolxis und das von ihm verheißene Leben nach dem Tod übernommen, aber trotzdem ihre Mythen, Aberglauben und von den Vorfahren übernommene Riten beibehalten hatten, waren auch die Rumänen, indem sie Zamolxis durch Christus ersetzten, die ganze Zeit über Christen, ohne jedoch ihre vorchristlichen Traditionen aufzugeben.

Die Daker waren aber keine Monotheisten, wie das vor allem von den Theologen behauptet wurde, und dieser Meinung sind auch die Historiker. Sogar Vasile Pârvan, von dem es heißt, dass er die These des dakischen Monotheismus verbreitet habe, meinte eigentlich, dass die Religion der Daker eigentlich henotheistisch geprägt war (mehrere Götter, die einem über-Gott untergeordnet waren), wobei der Henotheismus eine Form des Polytheismus darstellt. Gebeleizis, der Himmelsgott, wurde später zum Gott des Donners und schliesslich mit Zamolxis assimiliert[18], Benedis, die Entsprechung der römischen Diana, Weihnachten [Crăciun] mit dem römischen Gott Saturn identifiziert, Dochia – die Mutter – Göttin Gaia – die Vogelgöttin sind einige Beispiele für Gottheiten, die mit Zamolxis und später mit Gott – Jesus in der religiösen Vorstellung aus dem Donau-Schwarzmeer-Karpathenraum koexistierten.

Die Römer brachten, wie das auch nicht anders zu erwarten war, ihre Götter und deren Kulte mit nach Dazien, was die archäologischen Funde einiger Tempel, Kultstätten oder Inschriften beweisen. Als Frucht ihres Zusammenlebens mit den Dakern entstand das rumänische Volk, das sich einen religiösen Synkretismus zu eigen machte, der, wie Eliade das formulierte, im Gehalt dakisch und in der Form römisch war.

Weil weder der uns zur Verfügung gestellte Raum noch die Zeit es uns erlauben, der beim Begriff „kosmisches Christentum" anfallenden Problematik in „extenso" gerecht zu werden, werden wir uns auf bloß zwei Darstellungen der Volksfantasie konzentrieren: Gott und der Satan.

Wir hatten weiter oben angeführt, dass M. Eliade feststellte, dass die biblische Kosmogonie aus der europäischen Folklore verschwunden sei und dass im Südosten Europas eine dualistische Kosmogonie auftrat; anderseits hielt er fest, dass im kosmischen Christentum die geschichtlichen Aspekte des Christentums

[18] A.a.O.

unbeachtet blieben. Aber dieses Ignorieren der theologischen und geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit ist nicht zufällig. In der Vorstellung des rumänischen Volkes erscheint Gott anthropomorph, als ein Greis mit langem Haar und Bart. Ion Ghinoiu spricht in seinem Werk „Das Daseins und das Jenseits" [Lumea de aici şi lumea de dincolo] über den Weihnachtsmann und stellt ihn sich als Menschen als „alten Mann, alten Hirten mit weißem Bart"[19] vor. Er glaubt, dass es der indo-europäische Vatergott war, der spezifisch für die Geten-Daker gewesen sei. Wir haben es also, wie man sieht, mit einer Überlagerung durch den autochthonen Vatergott des Vattergottes aus der neuen Religion zu tun, die nach der Annahme des Christentums erfolgt war.

Der von Eliade angeführte Mythos, der Gott und den Satan umkreist ist bei uns in einigen Hirtengegenden unbekannt, wie z.B. bei den „momârlani" in Schiltal [Jiu]. Es gibt dafür aber eine Anzahl von Legenden (die man auch in anderen Teilen des Landes findet), die Gott in Begleitung des Heiligen Petrus als auf die Erde zurückgekehrt darstellt, um sich für den guten Lauf der Dinge zu bemühen.

Eine vom Forscher Marcu Jura aus Jieţ – Schiltal aufgezeichnete Legende besagt, dass „einstmals, als Gott und Satan und Sankt Petrus noch auf Erden wanderten", der Herr beschlossen habe, dass immer „wenn ein Bursche oder ein Mädchen heiratet, ein Guter und ein Schlechter zusammengegeben werden sollen, dass auch der Schlechte neben dem Guten leben kann"[20].

Für diese Hirten (momârlani) hat Gott sie schon seit dem Anbeginn der Zeiten zu Schafhaltern werden lassen: „Nachdem Gott die Schafe geschaffen hatte, gab er ihnen zunächst Engel und dann gelehrte Leute als Hirten bei." Aber sowohl die Einen als auch die Anderen weinten und zitterten vor Kälte „als es zu regnen begann." „Als Gott das sah, gab er ihnen die Hirten als Hüter bei... Er fragte drei: Gefällt es euch bei den Schafen? Es gefällt uns, antworteten die Hirten. Gefällt es euch bei Regenwetter? Den Engeln und gelehrten Leuten hat es da nicht gefallen. Also, sagten die Hirten, wenn die Sonne scheint, ist es wie im Paradies, aber wenn es regnet, ist es nicht gut. Sie spielten dabei auf ihren Flöten und juchzten dabei. Seitdem beließ Gott diese Hirten bei den Schafen."[21]

Die Gottesauffassung der Rumänen ist eine fatalistische: Er entscheidet ihr Schicksal schon von Geburt an, bestimmt ihren Lebensweg und die Stunde ihres Todes, was durch die Überlagerung der verschiedenen Gottheiten durch den christlichen Gott bewiesen wird. Darum wird Gott bei allen Verrichtungen des Tagewerks angerufen, wird als Quelle alles Guten und des Gelingens aller Vorhaben angesehen. Die von den Popen durchgeführten geistlichen Handlungen, vor allem bei der Einweihung der neuen Häuser, nach dem Tod eines Familienmitglieds, vor dem Weideauftrieb, vor dem Abschätzen der Anteile der

[19] Ion Ghinoiu, *Lumea de aici, lumea de dincolo* [Die Welt von hier, die Welt von drueben], Bucureşti, Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1999, S 40.

[20] Informantin: Păun Jura Maria, Jieţ, 80 Jahre (2006).

[21] Informant: Brânzău Izvorel, Moliviş, 45.

Herdenbesitzer an Käse bei den Hürden, wo alle Schafe im Pferch zusammengetrieben wurden, die Gebete für die kraftlosen Rinder, oder, in Ermangelung eines Priesters, das einfache Hersagen des Vater Unsers oder das Schlagen des Kreuzes in obigen Fällen, aber auch bei bösem Blick, bei unnormalem Verhalten der Tiere usw. – in all diesen Fällen wurden Praktiken der Magie oder Zaubersprüche durch christliche Handlungen ersetzt. Man kann kaum bemerken, dass von der magischen Weltsicht des traditionellen Dorfes her, seine übernatürliche Kräfte, die man früher durch magische Handlungen zu bannen versuchte, mit der Gestalt Gottes assimiliert wurden und zwar im Falle der Weißen Magie, die positiven, während die negativen (im Falle der schwarzen Magie) mit dem Teufel assimiliert wurden.

In der christlichen Lehre wurden die Prinzipien des Guten durch den Herrgott, seine Heiligen und Engel einerseits und des Bösen durch den Teufel (Satan) und seine Heerscharen gefallener Engel anderseits, verkörpert. Das kosmische Christentum ist jedoch dualistisch, so wie es M. Eliade[22] bezüglich der südosteuropäischen Kosmogonie nachweist. Der Teufel aus der religiösen Folklore ist nicht der jüdisch-christliche, der sich Gott unterwirft und der den Menschen nur dann Böses zufügen kann, wenn diese nicht im Glauben stehen oder wenn Gott es ihm erlaubt, um die Menschen zu prüfen. In der Volksdichtung ist der Satan einerseits die Verkörperung der Kräfte des Bösen, anderseits aber auch der negativen übernatürlichen Kräfte, ist also ein Gott des Bösen, der auf der Erde entstand, der sich in immerwährendem Kampf mit dem himmlischen Herrgott befindet. Wenn ein Mensch eines natürlichen Todes stirbt, sagt man im Volk, dass ihn der Herrgott zu sich genommen hat, wenn er hingegen vor der Zeit einen Unfalltot stirbt, sagt man, dass ihn der Teufel geholt habe. Dieser hat die Macht, in das Schicksal der Menschen einzugreifen und ihr Leben auf tragische Weise zu verkürzen. Auf den Teufel kann man durch die Praktiken der schwarzen Magie oder durch sein bloßes Nennen in Flüchen einwirken. Er stellt seine Kraft Menschen zur Verfügung, die seine Hilfe annehmen, über die er aber ständig seine Kontrolle ausübt: er bestraft sie dann, wenn sie umbotmäßig werden oder wenn ihre satanischen Praktiken misslingen. Der Akatisth des Heiligen Cyprianus, den man vornehmlich zur Aufhebung des Zauberbannes liest, beweist obige Behauptung hinlänglich.

Für die Hirten des Schiltales, die schon erwähnten „momârlani", z.B. war der Name des Teufels bis zur Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts tabu, weil man glaubte, dass sich durch sein bloßes Nennen böse Folgen einstellen würden. Auch heutzutage kann man noch viele Leute sagen hören: Geh zu jenem, und zu seiner Mutter „fire-al crepu hiriş!" [kann auch von Autor nicht erklärt werden]. Geh zu Juda", „Halai" aus „Dă-te halâi" ist eine Abkürzung von „halul rău" was Not oder Jämmerlicher Zustand bedeutet, der Name „Judas", der dem Teufel gegeben wird,

[22] Eine fundierte Analyse der heidnischen kosmogonischen Mythen liefert Eliade in seinem Werk [Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan].

ist natürlich christlicher Herkunft. Man hört auch heute noch viele Alte aus dieser Gegend statt „an den Teufel geraten", sagen „ins Elend geraten."[23] Der Satan ist also für das Böse in der Welt verantwortlich und wird von den Zauberinnen in ihren Praktiken der schwarzen Magie verwendet. Er ist auch für die Existenz der lebenden und toten Geister verantwortlich.

Schlussfolgernd kann vermerkt werden: der rumänische Bauer war und ist es teilweise auch heute noch, eine merkwürdige Mischung von Bräuchen, Gesten Zeremonien, durch die er den Kosmos und seine Umwelt verchristlicht hat, diese stützt sich zu gleichen Teilen auf die Heilige Schrift und die Heilige Tradition, die Letztere zwingt ihn zur Würde und Moralität, die einander innerhalb der großen christlichen Ader ergänzen. Christ sein, bedeutet in der Welt des Dorfes nicht nur in die Kirche zu gehen, sondern auch christlich zu denken, zu handeln, und vor allem – einer christlichen Moral zu folgen.

Ich fühle mich hier am Schluss der Arbeit auch zu einer Erklärung verpflichtet. Ich habe diesen Begriff, der uns Rumänen so nahe steht und der viele Bezüge zur Identität der Volkskultur aufweist, aufgegriffen, indem ich auch an Mircea Eliade dachte, an das Centennarium seiner Geburt und an das Schicksal des rumänischen Dorfes, unter Hervorhebung der Feststellung, dass die aktuellen Probleme der dörflichen Welt nicht wirtschaftlichen, sondern *schicksalhafter Natur* sind. Es ist bekannt, dass das rumänische Dorf nicht nur eine einfache menschliche Ansiedlung war, eine Aneinanderreihung von Wirtschaften, sondern eine ganze eigene *Welt*, mit einer eigenen Denkungsart, aus welcher die „Mioritza", der „Meister Manole", „Die Sonne und der Mond" und die „Profane Kantate" [„Meşterul Manole", „Soarele şi luna", „Cantata profana"] entsprangen. Diese archaische Welt wurde erst zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts von der Geschichte bedrängt, als die Großfarmen und Traktoren auftauchten und den *traditionellen Lebensumkreis dieser Dörfer sprengten*. Danach kann es auch zum ersten Exodus der Bauern nach Amerika. Dort verdienten sie Geld, kamen nach Hause zurück, vermehrten ihren Besitz, schickten dann ihre Kinder auf die Schule, entweder um einen Beruf zu erlernen oder um zu studieren.

Ein zweiter Ansturm auf die archaische Welt des Dorfes erfolgte in den sechziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts durch die Zwangskollektivisierung. Die Industrialisierung, das Pendlertum, der Nachahmungstrieb trugen auch wesentlich zur Zerstörung des Antlitzes der rumänischen Dörfer bei. Das echte rumänische Dorf begann damals zu verschwinden, als die handgewebten Teppiche von den Wänden genommen wurden und von der „Entführung aus der Serail" ersetzt wurden, und als die Hinterglasikonen durch Kitschgemälde ersetzt wurden, die z.B. Stilleben mit Melonen, Hirschen und Rehen darstellten.

Wir haben es heute mit einer massiven und noch nie da gewesenen Landflucht zu tun: die Menschen werden entwurzelt, gehen in den Westen auf Arbeit und kommen in den meisten Fällen nicht mehr zurück. Wenn sie es dennoch

[23] Die Information stammt von dem Gewährsmann Marcu Jura aus Jieţ – Hunedoara.

tun, protzen sie durch geschmacklose und überladene Häuser. So geht die Dorfarchitektur verloren, die von einem fast musikalischen Gleichklang geprägt war und Schritt für Schritt *verlieren wir unsere Identität* und „gleiten aus der Geschichte heraus" – nach dem Ausdruck des bekannten Zeitgenössischen Schriftstellers, Octavian Paler. Aus einem falsch verstandenen Hang, es dem Westen gleichzutun, verzichten wir allzuleicht auf *den Grundstock unserer Identität,* die seit jeher die Volkskultur und Zivilisation war und es auch bleiben wird, die sich in Büchern, in Museen und teilweise auch in der Welt des Dorfes äußert: durch Holzkirchen, die Volkskunst, Volksdichtung usw.

Von daher aus diesen Erwägungen heraus, muss sich unser ganzes Augenmerk auf die traditionelle Kultur und Zivilisation richten, insbesondere auf das kosmische Christentum, die alle eng verbunden mit dem Schicksal unseres Volkes sind.[24]

[24] Übersetzung Prof. Dr. Udo-Peter Wagner.

L'ORDURE D'OR

NICOLAE PANEA

Le besoin de critiquer rapidement de nouveaux quartiers pour faciliter la migration démographique du village vers la ville aboutit dans les années '70 à une monotonie architecturale et à la formalisation excessive des espaces habités. Les nouveaux quartiers, qui forment aujourd'hui les périphéries des grandes agglomérations urbaines du pays ont l'aspect d'un labyrinthe de béton, où, une fois entré en tant qu'étranger, on a de graves problèmes d'orientation. La plupart du temps, il n'y a ni de repères réels-identitaires ni de repères réels topographiques. À la différence de la zone centrale où les maisons ont leur propre histoire, où les rues confirment cette histoire, dans les zones marginales, où les rues n'ont pas de noms, à l'exception des allées: des espaces de transit, sans institutions ordinatrices, la mairie, par exemple, sans monuments, puisque le passé ne s'est pas séparé du présent, se contoure un univers périurbain qui cherche son identité, qui lutte pour formuler une mythologie capable de l'identifier, de tirer le passé du présent éternel de l'habitation. Nous utilisons le terme «mythologie» dans sa signification particulière de manière dans laquelle les habitants vivent l'image sociale de leur rapport avec l'espace d'habitation.

Dans le cas de ces quartiers, une telle mythologie est placée sous le signe du négatif. Elle est conçue en fonction des inconvénients: éloignement, inconfort, bruit, violence, vulgarité, vice. Et pourtant, une telle mythologie est le seul remède contre le non-espace, tel que Marc Augé le comprend, un «lieu anthropologique vidé de tout ce qu'il a d'identitaire».

Que ferait Jason dans un tel monde, comment imposerait-il le présent face à son oncle, Pélias, pour construire un avenir juste pour lui? Tous les jeunes de ces quartiers sont une sorte de Jason. Leur voyage dans le présent pour s'ordonner l'avenir ne mène pourtant pas loin. Pour eux, Colchide est entre les blocs, et la toison n'est pas d'or, mais l'ordure, puisqu'une de leur premiers voyages dans leur vie est celui vers la plateforme d'ordure; un lieu mystérieux et une leçon de socialisation. Un lieu terrifiant par son désordre en tant qu'espace extérieur, nécessaire, pourtant, pour la maintenance de l'ordre dans l'espace intérieur. Un lieu

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 259–264, Bucureşti, 2007

répugnant par son saleté grisante en tant qu'espace extérieure, encore une fois, nécessaire pour la maintenance de la propreté des espaces intérieurs (l'habitation).

Symbole de l'innocence, la toison du bélier mythique est, dans le contexte de l'informe, de l'inconnu périurbain, remplacée par l'ordure dans une centralité symbolique déterminante et dans une symbolique reformulée de la recherche initiatique. Jason, symbole de la lutte contre la banalité, a changé, dans un nouveau contexte, la cible de la recherche.

1. L'ORDURE D'OR. LA PREMIÈRE LEÇON SUR L'ESPACE

Nous soulignions, dans un autre contexte, que «la plus spectaculaire restructuration sociale produite par l'urbain sur une catégorie d'âge ou professionnelle est celle que l'enfant ressent. Dans une société rurale, l'enfant est presqu'inexistant en tant qu'actant social. Cette réalité est engendrée par le type de socialisation qu'une communauté traditionnelle applique. La socialisation de l'enfant dans un environnement rural traditionnel a comme but l'induction des règles sociales dans un rythme lent et dans une cyclicité large.» La même chose advient chez l'enfant qui habite dans ces quartiers périurbains.

Obligé à franchir seul l'extérieur de l'appartement, l'enfant nait socialement. L'habitation de ses parents, une prolongation de l'utérus materne, représente pour lui la sécurité, la protection, la chaleur. Le monde devient une alternance dedans/dehors, que l'enfant est obligé à découvrir rapidement.

2. LES ESPACES INTERMEDIAIRES. L'ESCALIER DE BLOC, LA COUR OU «DEVANT LE BLOC», LE SOUS-SOL DU BLOC

Ces espaces appartiennent à tous les habitants. Ici, l'enfant peut observer des différences et il commence à conscientiser que l'espace n'est pas homogène. La première opposition définitoire est celle entre la propreté et la saleté (saleté physique, mais aussi verbale, la vulgarité, ou comportementale, la violence), et ensuite celle entre la sécurité et l'insécurité. Il apprendra plus tard que cette propreté est engendrée par le respect des conventions; tous les «c'est permis» et «c'est défendu» qu'il entend chaque jour.

La saleté du monde extérieur s'instaure quand ces conventions ou convenances sont abolies. Le premier effet inverse de cette situation est celui que la saleté s'insinue lorsque «les règles sont mises à part par amour de l'amitié».

Les premières amitiés, plus précisément des camaraderies, en tant que forme de reconnaissance et domination de l'espace extérieur amènent une réalité

troublante: le mélange paradoxal entre la sécurité et la saleté. Les jeux de l'enfance en sont les produits et ce sont eux qui confirment, à leur tour, cette réalité. L'enfant comprend que l'extérieur est un mode des paradoxes. C'est le premier signe qu'une vision sur le monde prend naissance.

Ces espaces intermédiaires sont un mélange entre le propre et le sale, entre la sécurité et l'insécurité, des espaces qui n'appartiennent à personne, mais qui appartiennent à tous. Ces espaces qui restent longtemps sales, qui semblent souvent délaissés, mal illuminés, non-hospitaliers, qui abritent des querelles entre les locataires, deviennent un lieu de dépôt pour l'un ou pour l'autre, sans demander la permission des autres, et ils sont circulés par des personnes inconnues, même par des animaux.

3. LE CHEMIN VERS L'ÉCOLE. LA PREMIERE RECHERCHE OU L'INVASION DES PARADOXES

Le passage de l'espace privé à l'espace commun et ensuite vers l'espace extérieur nécessite un ensemble de rites (formalisations des actions ordinatrices). Pour l'enfant, un tel rituel est représenté par le chemin vers l'école, l'école devenant un corrélatif de l'habitation: règles et sécurité, propreté et centralité. L'enfant parcourt chaque jour le même trajet, il a le même temps de départ et d'arrivée, il rencontre les mêmes actants, les élèves de l'école, les collègues de classe, tous sont habillés de la même uniforme, tous parcourent le même chemin vers la gloire. Là, pourtant, il doit apprendre à réfléchir dans les termes de la compétition, de l'iniquité sociale et de la ségrégation, qui auront des répercussions sur l'intégration et sur les formes concrètes que prend l'intégration.

L'évidente différenciation dans l'acquisition des habitudes, la culture de la sensibilité et la connaissance du monde aboutit à la dynamitation de l'unité initiale de la classe en tant que groupe d'intérêts en des petits groupes d'égaux qui s'hiérarchisent dans le temps et entre qui s'établissent des relations de ségrégation qui contribuent à une socialisation inégale. D'autre part, les autres manières de segmentation du temps habituent l'enfant à une cyclicité beaucoup plus prononcée et, implicitement, à un rythme de vie plus alerte, qui lui posent d'autres problèmes dans la gestion des émotions qui sont plus diverses que celles auxquelles est confronté un enfant dans une société rurale-traditionnelle. Cette cyclicité accentuée et bien précisée de même que le rythme soutenu de la vie imposent à l'enfant un comportement inertiel, sinon une routine, de laquelle il ne peut pas se détacher, avec laquelle il s'habitue jusqu'à la confusion, de même que le comportement d'un adulte est modelé jusqu'à la routine en fonction du métier qu'il pratique. En un mot, la société urbaine fait en sorte que l'enfant vive l'enfance comme un métier.

4. LE CHEMIN VERS LA PLATEFORME D'ORDURE. LA DEUXIEME RECHERCHE

L'opposé du chemin vers l'école est le chemin vers l'endroit où on jette l'ordure. La manière dans laquelle on a construit ces quartiers ont fait en sorte que l'emplacement des plateformes ait ordonné l'espace, l'ait semantisé par une centralité évidente. Il semble que même autour d'elles se configure une sous-séquence spatiale, représentée par le groupe de blocs d'appartements, un lieu que l'on ne s'attend pas à trouver là. Théoriquement, marginalement, il se découvre et il est doué du sens précisément en vertu de sa centralité. Tel que Jason a la révélation de la Colchide, de la même manière la plateforme d'ordure exerce son inexplicable force d'attraction-rejet sur les enfants du quartier.

L'existence d'un tel espace dans sa centralité, assumé comme tel du point de vue communautaire, convainc l'enfant qu'il a le droit à la saleté de la même façon qu'il a le droit à la propreté, que salir signifie vivre d'une autre manière, qui peut être aussi bien accepté même si connoté négativement.

Le contact périodique de l'enfant avec un tel lieu signifie une victoire sur l'immédiat et une sorte d'exorcisation, puisqu'il voit comment, à des intervalles aléatoires, l'espace sale est nettoyé pour devenir bientôt sale. L'enfant réalise ceci comme une lutte entre le propre et le sale, une confrontation continuelle qui l'enseigne à prendre possession de l'espace. Il comprend que les effets du sale peuvent être circonscrits à un espace restreint, sans valeur, contraire à sa centralité. Il apprend à maîtriser ses sentiments.

5. LA NUIT, LE FROID ET L'ORDURE. LA TROISIEME RECHERCHE

Le principal sentiment contre lequel l'enfant doit lutter est la peur, «un élément essentiel de toute pédagogie initiatique». Sa maîtrise signifie la maîtrise des événements quotidiens, même du monde. D'autre part, «confronter le jeune à une souffrance délibérée, la peur de confronter l'obscurité, est, dans ce cas, une méthode de tester les ressources que le groupe lui demandent pour sa maturation».

Sortant de l'obscurité, l'enfant est confronté à sa propre précarité essentielle, il se recherche soi-même et s'impose soi-même à l'espace vide, imperceptible à cause de l'obscurité, un espace qu'il remplit de sa présence, en l'occupant, non pas seulement physiquement, mais aussi militairement.

La nuit et l'ordure deviennent deux formes symboliques de la mort, un mélange d'informe et d'impure, le chaos suprême. En triomphant d'elles par l'imposition de sa simple présence, l'enfant accomplit un rite de passage, une initiation. Les sens de ce rituel visent la révélation de la vérité concernant l'existence en tant que menace perpétuelle.

6. LA VIOLENCE ET LA VULGARITÉ. LA COTERIE OU L'ECHOUAGE DU NAVIRE ARGOS. LA QUATRIEME RECHERCHE

Les villes qui ont survécu au communisme ont chez nous, semble-t-il, la même configuration; une agglomération de blocs impersonnels et, la plupart des fois, inconfortables, des représentations architecturales d'une imagination stéréotype et pauvre. L'escalier de bloc est un micro-univers qui se situe à la limite entre l'inclusion et l'exclusion, il est un monde qui désire se légitimer. L'escalier de bloc, forme typique d'association urbaine, n'a pas de personnalité urbaine, il représente une position dans une sérialité, il est inclus et exclus en même temps. Il fait parte du quartier et il se perd dans l'anonymat du quartier, puisque personne ne le perçoit en tant qu'individualité et pourtant, ici vivent des gens qui emploient des stratégies d'adaptation, de personnalisation, qui se constituent en une confrontation de hiérarchies. Il y a une *hiérarchie gérontocratique*. Les personnes âgées se souviennent des commencements et leurs souvenirs deviennent source de pouvoir puisqu'ils créent d'identité. Leurs souvenirs se constituent dans une sorte d'histoire orale. Il y a des familles fondatrices qui ont des privilèges dans la prise de décisions, car l'ancienneté de l'habitation est l'une des formes de légitimation, elles ont des privilèges dans le partage de l'espace commun (endroits de garage de la voiture, des espaces de dépôt), elles détiennent des privilèges sélectifs dans n'importe quelle forme associative. Le modèle d'une telle hiérarchie est la copie fidèle de la famille patriarcale, dans laquelle le patriarche est «l'administrateur» du patrimoine familial. Il y a une *hiérarchie du prestige social*. Ceux qui ont conquis le monde extérieur reçoivent ces droits. Leur succès est la garantie de la bonne gestion du petit monde de l'escalier de bloc. Ces personnes deviennent automatiquement les patrons d'une clientèle réduite, qui espère de conquérir, à son tour, l'Extérieur. Cette hiérarchie ne peut pas remplacer la première, elles se tolèrent réciproquement, parfois, en collaborant. Son modèle est celui du parrainage traditionnel. Il y a une *hiérarchie de la témérité*, la plupart des fois, imposée par la violence. La forme la plus fréquente est la coterie. Organisation clientelaire juvénile, la coterie vise la personnalisation de l'espace, la territorialisation en tant que méthode de légitimation. C'est un reflexe d'adaptation et de contrecarrer le manque de tradition et de propriété. Le processus psychotique d'individuation n'a aucun sens dans le contexte du manque d'une culture de la propriété. Les quartiers urbains sont une sorte de no man's land où les jeunes doivent résoudre le manque d'un héritage culturel comme forme de légitimation. Leur comportement est un comportement colonialiste, qui prolifère le droit du premier venu, du plus fort, de la clientèle onéreuse. La coterie a aussi un aspect initiatique de type mannerbunde. C'est pour cela que la plupart des fois, sa fonctionnalité est basée sur un conflit continuel avec le monde ordonné, légitime, légitimée par le fonctionnement des deux premiers types de hiérarchies.

CONCLUSIONS

Représentation de la saleté par excellence, la plateforme d'ordure est douée d'une riche symbolique dans le contexte du processus social et psychique de rapprochement de l'espace, de conquête et de marquage de celui-ci, de sorte que l'individu puisse se sentir en sécurité et qu'il puisse recevoir des repères cognitifs. Paradoxalement, un lieu, apparemment sans valeur, devient essentiel dans le processus d'initiation juvénile en contexte urbain.

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THE BALLADS OF THE HORSE THIEVES

SABINA ISPAS

INTRODUCTION

The ballads of the horse thieves are characterized by tension, dramatic development, and persuasion combined with professional pride. These ballads are included in several types of the heroic epos and family ballad. There are only two important characters in such oral texts: the thief and the horse. The former is assertive, active, dynamic and restless, the latter is the bearer of economic and social value. Together they make an exemplary couple, as the ballads are artistic expressions that convey on the one hand observance of law and on the other hand the deliberate infringement of law. In such ballads, every action or behavior may express an aspiration for both "achieving perfection" and "liberation" from the imperatives of the social norm.

PHENOMENOLOGY OF MARGINALITY

Every historic epoch has different criteria and options, with specific dynamics, to delimit and define the categories of the déclassé, of the outcasts, of the expelled. "The term *marginality* originated in a metaphor relative to space [...]. Space is viewed dichotomically: inside and outside, the center and the periphery [...]. The center means organized social life, community life based on family and group solidarity; the margin refers to the exiles, the malefactors, the contestants, the heretics, the deviants. [...] marginalizations mainly the result of behaviours which are not complying with the rules of organization of everyday life and with the customs of a community" (Geremek 1999: 324).

The parallel world of society was a "counter society", formed of different types of marginals. The most numerous were and still are the social economic ones, which reach a certain threshold of destitution. Some of these belong to other categories at the periphery of the social: tramps, thieves, bandits, prostitutes, pimps. Not so long ago, people who practiced so-called impure trades were also

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 265–272, Bucureşti, 2007

included: butchers, bather dressers, tanners, cesspool cleaners, usurers. There are also some groups whose status can change: the déclassés for special reasons, peculiar situations, and the political exiles of the Middle Ages or those accused of political offences in the totalitarian regimes, even nowadays (e.g. people convicted by communist regimes). In some societies the marginals are the foreigners, the bastards, the heretics. Almost up to the modern times, a special category in the wide social contexts is made by people with severe psychic deficiencies as well as of incurable patients (such as the lepers). The vast literature devoted in the last decades to this most sensitive topic has proved that there is a peculiar dynamics of the notion of marginal (marginals, marginality) which has covered real sinusoids throughout social history, vacillating from worship to incrimination, from respect to fear, from repulsion to compassion (Le Goff 1979, Schmitt 1988, Foucault 1999, Geremek 1999, Livadă-Cadeschi 1993, Mazilu 2006). Nevertheless, no matter what was the official standpoint toward individuals and groups considered to be marginal, always felt as interesting. Their dramatic stories may provide exemplary models, especially by the agency of literature or of the audio-visual creation. Outlaws, fighters for a social cause, brigands, pirates, highwaymen are the main characters of a great deal of ballads, performed in various circumstances for a very different audience, from the feudal lord up to the peasant and townsman. These stories aroused contradictory feelings, but maintained a permanent interest in the events and persons who were outlawed-willfully or not.

A thief is one who secretly or violently takes away what belongs to somebody else, thus causing damage to another person. In the 19th Century's Romanian Principalities, thieves were stealing horses, oxen, buffalos, sheep, poultry, wagons, bee-hives, money, clothes, ecclesiastical objects. Law considered theft the non-payment of customs, the destruction of vineyards or fruit trees, the act of deviating the streams for one's benefit, theft from houses on fire, taking possession of things found on the road, changing the place of boundary markers. To be punished, theft had to be proved. If this was not possible, oath was accepted. According to Dan Horia Mazilu, documents prove that highwaymen were extremely proficient. Armed with weapons, they were cruel, swiftly moving, ingenious in organizing ambushes and rescues. Their fellowship was strengthened by the solidarity of the people with important personalities from the world of brigands (Mazilu 2006). In historical periods characterized by crises, the multiplication of aggressions and robberies could create insecurity and bring about chaos by terror, jeopardizing the steadfastness of the country. The ballads called thieves "housebreakers".

THE ROMANIAN BALLADRY

Ethnologists, social anthropologists, historians and even folklorists have been more and more concerned with the theme of "marginality" in recent years. Folkloristics, literature creators and literary criticism have already approached the

personalities belonging to that category who became literary heroes. Romanian folkloristics devoted thorough analyses to the legends, heroic songs and ballads of outlawry, whose main characters were protesters, deserters, fugitives, warriors turned into brigands, often fighting against foreign invasions or excessive seigniorial authority. Those analyses started in the Romantic period and reached the modern epoch. Some of the fighters involved in uprisings or various social protests were members of the high society, others were peasants or townsmen; some had a dramatic end, others acquired wealth and recovered their social status.

Analyzing the narrative thread of the ballads, we may notice that poetic texts present with shades of differences the goals of armed attacks against a person or representatives of the princely authority. The social justice-loving component may be easily pointed out in epic texts about outlaws or rebellions boyars, to be differentiated from the interest for gaining possessions for oneself or a small group of attackers. The categories of stolen goods and the places where attacks were organized are the same. They stole: money from tributes and taxes, flocks of sheep, sheepfold products, victuals for Ottoman officials and especially horses. The sites selected were mountain paths, forest thickets, crossroads, boundaries, places at the end of settlements or countries, marshes close to rivers and bridges over streams, fairs. The time chosen was adequate seasons, when vegetation was abundant and thickets were full of leaves, hidden roads could be used and traces could not be easily identified.

The horse is the most steadfast of all the animals present in man's life at important moments. The popular literary text shows it as such, pointing to the intimacy created between the two. In archetypology and in psychanalytical approaches the horse is endowed with many-sided meanings, combining complementary aspects: the earthly and the solar, the uranian and the chtonian, the transition, time and implicitly, death, but also flight, elevation, the yeoman for endless space and eternity. In many cultures it is seen as a sacred animal, having oracular power. The horse is a quintessence of material and spiritual values (Durand 1977).

The horse is not only a steadfast presence, close to the hero and helping him, as seen in fairy-tales, but also an emblematic character in numerous folklore categories or species, ranging from ritual or ceremonial ones to didactic or entertainment ones. The horse is the symbolic guide and carrier of the souls on the path to the Beyond in funeral songs. In the wedding rite, a horse is presented to the bridegroom by the bride's family. In carols it is a link between humans and the transcendental world. It is also a sign of identification for the youth who is not only handsome and brave but can also ride a wild horse and skillfully plait its tail. The horse's harness points to the wealth of the hero.

The horse is the most devoted companion of the rebellions character, of the knight and warrior in the heroic epos or ballad. It carries him on the battle field, helps him to win or faithfully watches over him when he is dying and even digs his grave. The horse carries the main character of lyrics in his amorous wanderings and

waits for him uncomplaining, whenever the selfish lover leaves it tethered, without water or fodder. A carol called *The young man and the horse* points out the horse's understanding for his master's weakness and impulsivity. In fairy-tales, the horse of the hero is fed on hot embers (Amzulescu 1981, Brătulescu 1981).

The thoroughbred horse is the outcome of man's long-lasting endeavor to improve his characteristics and to develop the qualities assigned to it. Beauty, dignity and nimbleness were necessary to represent the social status of the master, his emblem. Strength and sturdiness were required to carry the master in battles or to carry out domestic toils; endurance helped to ensure transportation and fast communication. We may say that this "noble" animal that crossed history next to the man is the outcome of a long creative and cultural process, which involved both protagonists.

THE PRESENCE OF HORSE (Brief Historical Survey)

The Ice Age made European and Asian horses migrate from the North to the South. The rock paintings of France and Spain provide us information about the taming of *Equus caballus gmelini,* which occurred in the area between the Danube and the Volga. That region provided special conditions for animal breeding and the various peoples who passed there fighters known for their expertise as riders and continued to improve horse breeds and let them live free. Free herds were found in Bugeac till recently. Horses were first used for riding, then for traction. The latter operation had been assigned to the oxen tamed before. In necropolis of the III rd-II nd millennia B.C., horse bones were found close to human ones. The Scythians who drove their horse herds to various grazing fields, depending on the season, worshipped the horse. Celts worshipped goddess Epona, a deity of the horses. As early as the 14th century B.C., according to burnt clay plates, horse sports were practiced in the Ancient East. The Roman and Persian Empires used fine mail system, using relay of horses; horses were also used in 10.000 post stations in the time of Genghis Khan. In ancient Hellada (B.C.), horse breeding was a noble concern and horse sports were included in the program of Olympiads: riding races of quadrigae and bigae, mule-driver, battle chariots. Olymp, Corinth, Delphi, Athens were known for horse sports. A first work on *Horsemanship* was written by Xenophon (430-335 B.C.). The rules of the tournaments were set in the 11th century. The Europe of the 12th century, and during the Renaissance, professed high quality horse training.

Prophet Mohammed recommended special concern for the breeding of Arabian horses. As a result, those horses had high qualities, much appreciated in the Middle Ages. Crusaderd used to capture such horses for breeding, as war spoils. The horse-shoe was invented in the Near East, facilitating the displacement of troops. Most of the warriors who covered the areas between the Danube, the

Carpathians and the Black Sea were skilful horse breeders and fine riders. Horses have been used for hundreds of years in agriculture and in short- and medium-distance transportation. Their use for military purposes greatly increased in the modern age, after the age of invasions and wars of the Middle Ages.

In Romanian folk culture, especially in the literary text, the image of the horse, with all its social aspects and meanings, is a constant presence. The horse is widely used in all types of traditional activities (farming, shepherding, river navigation, trade and transportation). During ceremonies and feasts, the prince and boyars of the Romanian Principalities proudly displayed their breeds in front of people. On such occasions races were organized. Princely horses were presented on the Eve of the Epiphany and on St. George's Day, and horse races were also taking place. This ritual action was documented as early as Alexandru Lapuşneanu's reign (1552-1568); and similar events are described in detail in Gheorgachi's Register (*Condica lui Gheorgachi*, 1762) of the 18th century. The pompous parade organized to honour the prince observed a special succession: first came the trotters (horses harnessed to the princely carriages), then the gendarmes, the flags made of two or three white horse tails skilfully plaited, attached to a spear painted in red, topped by a crescent, then the princely horses, and in the end the steeds ridden by young boyars' sons. The parade horse from the imperial stable, sent by the Sultan as a gift when the prince was invested, was ridden by the great equerry attired in a princely costume. Those ceremonies were not only displays of the princely power and wealth but also tokens of appreciation for the highly valued horses.

The Arabian horse was bred as early as the 18th century in the Rădăuți stud farm. In 1864, a stud farm was developed in Walachia, on the estate of the Copuzu Monastery. A Jockey Club was founded in Bucharest and a Hippodrome in 1874-1875. After the First World War several stud farms appeared in several Romanian localities. The Romanian sporting horse is bred in the farm studs of Sâmbăta (Sibiu County) and Jegălia (Ialomița County). Irrespective of the evolution of modern technology, the horse was, is and will be a value with multiple facets.

GENRES, TYPES, THEMES, VERSIONS

The Romanian Typological Index, established by Al.I. Amzulescu (1981, 1983), includes in the category of the heroic epos some types of poetic texts whose main characters are called *hoțomani* (big thieves), persons who did not stand out by deeds of bravery or by a special interest in rising up against the *cotropitori* (invaders) of the Romanian lands. They also differed from the *hajdouks*, fighters in a social war, organized in outlaw groups, whose main objective was to help the poor and hurt people. The *hoțomani* were characterized by a certain skill in using guns; they were brave, but their incentive was to obtain goods by force (robbery) or deceit for themselves and their comrades. The acquisition of foreign goods gas

very seldom a visible or dominant aspect. Cases such as the robbing the emperor's (sultan or khan) horse herd were rare. In the thematic group of the *hoţomani* several types are differentiable, generically called the *ballads of the horse thieves.* According to the Romanian index of heroic epic song those types are: 170 (*Codreanu*), 171 (*Cârlăioru*), 172 (*Stan din Bărăgan*), 175 (*Cântecul lui Săcală* – Săcală's song), 185 (*Iortoman*), 195 (*Şaicu*). Some types of the *hoţomani* category are also recorded in the typological index of the family ballad, and they are spread only in the southern area of Romania, namely Wallachia: 44 (*Luniţă, luniţă*), 45 (*Cântecul chirigiului* – The wagoner's song), 46 (*Petre*), 47 (*Cântecul lui Radu* – Radu's song).

A first group of those epic texts, within the mentioned thematic category, could be called *The temptation of the horse lover.* The horse thief highly values the qualities of a horse seen by chance, and wants it for himself. To acquire it he uses deceit and becomes aggressive towards the owner of the horse, thinking of him as unworthy to own such a valuable animal. For the horse he has nothing but respect and appreciation. As a token of high regard, he prepares a princely harness for it. When another ballad character, *Ghimiş*, horse lover, proudly compels his mare to pass a test and be wounded, he sincerely regrets it: „He cried like a madman". To amends his guilt, the horse-loving thief takes by force the colt of the wounded mare from its owner, proving thus how much he thought of the animal to which he caused suffering and which he did not abandon. Ghimiş took refuge in the thicket with both horses so that his trail be lost. The pride of stealing two horses from the same owner under moonlight is concealed by the earnest invocation of the witnesses to the „transaction" – the sham „sale" of the horses: the manger of the dark-bay horse, the posts of the stable, the poles where horses were tethered, that were left useless after the disappearance of the sorrels (Lunita, Lunita). The horse stolen by three Cossacks and three „Mirzaks" who didn't know to fairly „share" it among them, was acquired by deceit by another man, enticed by the beauty of the stallion which was not rightly valued by the former thieves (*Isirim Bogatu's Song).*

THEFT AS A BUSINESS: THE PRIDE OF THE SKILFUL MAN

The epic text based on such a theme is focused on horse-catching techniques, on the way horses can be lured and captured, as well as on the risks that the thief and the damaged person would face. When horses are stolen to be sold, both the thief and the horse dealer never cheat the buyer and they are interested in high-value horses, prized and wished for. The thief chooses either horses with qualities which he can acknowledge, as a professional, or a princely herd, in which the best saddle horses are bred.

Folk texts show that horses were also stolen for the need for transportation. A carter complains that „marsh thieves" have stolen the wheelers that were „the strength of the wagon", and the side-horse that could drag the cart „out of the mud

and helped him in need". Stolen horses were usually of high bred. The most prized were the Moldavian and Dobrudjan ones.

The job of horse stealing and „possible selling" required great expertise. One should have known the characteristics of all horse breeds in the country, the stud-farm owners, the demand and prices on the international horse market, the risk taken by a thief, namely the legislation on theft and its penalties. The law referred to concealers, buyers and damaged parties, witnesses who guaranteed the genuineness of the transaction, with their part of guilt or request for reparation. In some cases, horse theft was punished by death. Educational texts, present in some ballads point to the severity of the punishment for horse thieves.

Horse catching is an action to be minutely prepared in advance. To be successful, the thief should know horses very well and be aware of the way they are to be cared for, as well as of the favourable weather forecast – darkness, tempests, mist preferred. Adequate tools should be used for particular cases. Catching with a lasso required a safe instrument, made by the thief himself, with great skill required by long practice.

Another method to catch horses was to lure them with adequate food (salt and bread) near a fountain or water source. The ballad *Stan of Bărăgan* describes the way the skilled thief succeeds in capturing wild horses, in order to sell them.

The sultans of the Ottoman Empire were great horse lovers. In their stables special Arabian horses were bred. The sultan's herd was a great temptation for proficient horse thieves. In *Săcală's song*, the brave thief, riding a black Dobrudja horse, compels the guardian of the sultan's herd to tell him which is the most important horse, he rides it runs away, luring all the other horses to follow him. This technique is widely described also in fairy-tales. However, the courage of the thief is cruelly repressed, when horses are recovered.

To recover his possession the horses' owner should be courageous and clever. He should know his animals, be able to read the traces left behind them in the hidden paths of the thicket. Special signs point to him whether the sorrel was stolen or ran away.

The lyrical song *Spune, spune, moş bătrân* (Tell, do tell old man), a relatively new song, maybe from the beginning of the 20th century, is a genuine glorification of the skill of a horse thief, voicing the pride of the trade. This text aptly characterizes the pride and dignity of an old horse thief, a master in this knowledge and experience. The old man is arrested for having stolen a „young colt", which he sold „with no price". He is investigated and asked „when are horses stolen". The expert in stealing recommends a night with lightnings, when light alternates with darkness, when the herd may be seen and the thieves may hide themselves, or while the storm wipes away traces and compels horses to come together and be more easily controlled. The authority that has arrested him does not frighten him and he is not interested in the fact that he infringes the law, as a delinquent. The old man boasts about his possible achievements if he will be free: „Let me be free up to

sunset and I will bring you the mother of horses, the father of colts and their herdsman".

The texts in the thematic group called here *The ballads of the horse thieves* do not present the complexes or frustrations of some *marginals*, as could be expected, perhaps, but they extol the characters who are in command of their knowledge and pride themselves on their „professional" deeds, proving to be great lovers and admirers of that noble animal.

Horse thieves have not acted for long and their skill is no longer used. But their songs are still alive, to extol the courage and expertise of a true horse thief, who prizes and loves the stolen animal. One can still record the personal memories of some old horse breeders, who kept their herds free in the marshes close to big rivers – now reclaimed – and crossed the Danube, or went to the Black Sea Coast to get rid of their pursuers. In some distant localities young people still race horses on the Epiphany or on St George's Day. In Romania, horses are still used in the homestead, for local transport and, certainly, for riding. The longer they will be kept close to man, the more they will help us keep in mind the long endeavour to tame, master and change nature, and help us go on respecting these creatures that inspired man to obtain various technical performances.

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SOURCES ETHNOGRAPHIQUES ET IMAGE ARTISTIQUE DANS LA CULTURE VISUELLE ROUMAINE DU XIX^{e} SIÈCLE

MARIANA VIDA

Il y a des références ethnographiques dans beaucoup d'œuvres d'art[1]. Même si elles n'apparaissent pas explicitement, elles se relèvent dans la manière même dans laquelle l'artiste fait le choix du motif, du cadrage, du style pictural ou de la facture. Les sources ethnographiques provenant des images artistiques concernant les Pays Roumaines au XIX^{e} siècle sont d'une variété impressionnante et par une reconstitution systématique on peut dresser un tableau vivant de la vie matérielle et spirituelle du temps passées. Le document ethnographique parcourt une série de transformations essentielles tout le long du XIX^{e} siècle, du simple enregistrement pris *in situ* jusqu'à sa sublimation dans l'amalgame d'une vision artistique originale, toujours cadrées par les transfigurations de l'histoire des styles.

Dans la galerie iconographique du XIX^{e} siècle, le témoin ethnographique, associé à celui stylistique, compose une histoire de l'identité roumaine. Le présent ouvrage met en pratique une exploration de l'art roumain du XIX^{e} siècle et les sources ethnographiques du point de vue de l'évolution des styles dans le contexte européen. Signe culturel complexe, l'œuvre d'art fait appel à des conventions qui transfèrent la vérité objective dans le domaine de l'imaginaire, de telle manière que l'image devienne un témoin marqué par une certaine distorsion par rapport à son modèle. Grâce au contexte historique et stylistique, à la vision de l'artiste ou à la technique utilisée par celui-ci, le modèle se transforme petit à petit, pour en devenir un double d'une autre nature que celle saisie au début par les sens, ayant la capacité de l'inscrire dans d'autres territoires ou médias[2].

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[1] Cet article est un fragment d'une thèse de doctorat au même titre, préparée sous la direction du professeur universitaire dr. Silviu Angelescu, à l'Institut d'Ethnographie et Folklore «C. Brăiloiu» de Bucarest.

[2] Voir Silviu Angelescu, *Portretul literar* [Le portrait littéraire], Bucureşti, Editura Univers, 1985, p. 8-13.

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 273–296, Bucureşti, 2007

L'œuvre d'art relève les étapes d'un processus de formation qui indique les confins du descriptif, et qui, rapportées à une grille d'interprétation, structurent les éléments constitutifs par rapport au progrès technologique. Nous nous référons surtout à l'apparition de la photographie et aux transformations que cette technique provoque dans la substance même de la composition de l'image et aussi dans le domaine concernant la réception par le publique. Quant aux certains limites de l'image demandées par la fidélité de la représentation, elles sont imposées soit par le talent de l'auteur même ou par l'intention poursuivie, soit par l'appartenance à une certaine orientation stylistique, qui constitue un sorte de programme, qui forme d'avance, consciemment ou non, la vision artistique. Les problèmes de l'image se transforment donc par rapport aux fonctions de leurs poids sémantique incombés par les sujets figurés. Les modifications peuvent être suivies clairement tout au long du XIX^{e} siècle, dans les étapes historiques traversées par l'art documentaire, mais aussi par l'art ayant un degré accrû d'autonomie. Les modifications du paradigme stylistique changent aussi l'interprétation des données visuelles des documents ethnographiques représentés, par relation aux coordonnées de l'histoire des styles dans lesquelles se situent les artistes, tout en tenant compte, après les conventions esthétiques différentes d'une époque à l'autre, du degré d'originalité de la personnalité de chaque auteur et quelquefois des exigences du commanditaire, éléments qui apportent des mutations dans la substance de l'image. Lorsqu'on parcourt *le corpus* documentaire et artistique composé d'un vaste ensemble d'images de diverses catégories, on est saisi par la modalité dont elles sont conditionnées tant du point de vue culturel que par rapport aux moyens de compréhension de la vie par les artistes dans le contexte d'une civilisation.

L'image artistique forme ainsi un témoin, dont la structure réunit des éléments différents ayant la disposition de surprendre: a) les aspects de système, lorsqu'on suit l'image selon la synchronie: formes de vie (rituelles ou non rituelles) ou une structure sociale (classes, âges, occupations); b) les aspects d'un processus, c'est-à-dire les moments en cours d'une transformation, lorsqu'on étudie l'image du point de vue diachronique (la mode et le costume à travers les époques, les moyens de transport etc.).

En ce qui concerne le problème de la fidélité des images relativement à leur valeur comme témoin, la typologie des sources peut être analysée en fonction du statut de l'auteur (*artistes voyageurs*, sensibles à tout ce qu'ils enregistraient en passant, *artistes topographes*, ayant la mission précise de décrire les réalités telles qu'elles se présentaient sur place, *artistes étrangers* qui se sont acclimatés dans les Principautés Roumaines, qui appliquent des principes assimilés dans les académies d'art européennes, pour les commanditaires roumains, et enfin, *artistes autochtones* de naissance illustre ou d'origine modeste).

En Roumanie, les recherches sur l'histoire des styles sont approfondies dans les dernières années. Grâce à la libre circulation des gens, avant 1989 interdite par le régime totalitaire, de même que grâce au changement de paradigme idéologique,

fondé dans notre cas sur les critères de l'anthropologie culturelle, on a opéré une évaluation significative de l'histoire de l'art du XIX[e] siècle. On a reconsidérée ainsi l'ensemble des problèmes concernant les styles internationaux (Néoclassicisme, Biedermeier, Romantisme, Naturalisme ou Symbolisme) et par conséquent le problème du centre et périphérie, du style métropolitain et de la province[3]. On a remarqué que ce rapport, où le centre est le créateur d'une unité singulière et cohérente qui active la périphérie, est surtout dynamique, quelquefois conflictuel, dans la mesure dans laquelle la domination symbolique du centre impose des modèles stylistiques et iconographiques formulés d'avance. C'est en fait un rapport entre innovation et retardement, mais aussi entre tradition et besoin de changement, tel le cas de la révolution de '48 qui a déterminé dans les trois provinces roumaines des transformations stylistiques radicales.

La situation des Pays Roumaines c'est l'un des plus complexe du point de vue géopolitique, car il y avait trois provinces distinctes, soumises aux trois grands centres d'irradiation: la Transylvanie par l'appartenance à l'empire des Habsbourgs, et qui ouvrait les voise d'accès vers Vienne, et plus loin vers l'Europe Occidentale, puis la Moldavie vers l'empire Russe, et enfin la Valachie par le Danube, vers l'empire Ottoman et Constantinople. Jusqu'à l'Union de 1859 de la Moldavie avec la Valachie, les contrées roumains ont été des lieux exotiques, peu connus et dont les diverses voyageurs (membres des expéditions scientifiques, topographes ou simplement touristes) ont fait leur description à la commande des trois grands empires hégémoniques cités plus haut. Les Provinces Roumaines étaient des zones pour la plupart agricoles, où l'industrie apparaissait à peine et qui gardent tout le long du XIX[e] siècle une typologie rurale très puissante. Dans ce contexte d'une forte composante traditionaliste, l'art de cour, héritée du Moyen Âge, devient petit à petit provincial. Les artistes autochtones, pour la plupart des peintres d'églises et d'icônes, font face aux besoins restreints d'une commande modeste et d'un goût réduit[4].

Conservateur des coutumes et des traditions archaïques, l'industrie domestique rurale assurait, suivant les chemins et les recettes patriarcales vérifiées, les besognes d'une communauté dont les normes esthétiques avaient été structurés et décantés pendant une longue période[5]. Si nous allons essayer à diviser une époque en périodes d'évolution de la qualité de témoin du document ethnographique au XIX[e] siècle (tout en évitant l'idée de progrès dans le domaine de l'art tant contesté et de bonne raison), on peut différencier trois grandes étapes: la

[3] Voir Enrico Castelnuovo, Carlo Ginzburg, *Dominație simbolică și geografie artistică în istoria artei italiene* [Domination symbolique et géographie artistique dans l'histoire de l'art italien], dans le volume *Sociologia percepției artistice* [Sociologie de la perception artistique], București, Editura Meridiane, 1991, p. 220-266.

[4] Voir *Les Français et la Roumanie*, textes choisis par Paul Desfeuilles et Jacques Lassaigne, Bucarest, 1937, surtout la deuxième partie, intitulée *Portrait de la Roumanie*, p. 195-354.

[5] Voir aussi Silviu Angelescu, *Mitul și literatura* [Le mythe et la littérature], București, Editura Cartex, 1995 (réedition, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1999).

première entre 1800 et 1828 (le début du siècle et la paix d'Andrinople qui amène l'occupation russe et une nouvelle modalité d'organisation administrative et aussi la mode et les mœurs européennes); la deuxième, entre 1828-1830 et 1859, lorsqu'on cherche un langage et une iconographie commune (c'est maintenant que fait son apparition l'image des deux pays, la Moldavie et la Valachie sous le visage de deux jeunes filles en habit national). Enfin, la troisième, entre 1859 et 1900, sera dominée par la personnalité de Nicolae Grigorescu qui, intuitivement, va donner une solution originale au problème de la spécificité identitaire, thème des ardents débats aussi dans la première moitie du XX^{e} siècle.

À la première phase appartiennent les artistes voyageurs attirés par le mirage de l'Orient, poussés par l'ascension de Napoléon I^{er} ou par sa chute, les topographes de l'empire des Habsbourgs, ou participants aux expéditions scientifiques, initiés par des mécènes. Ce sont des artistes appartenant à une catégorie hétérogène, génériquement surnommés «documentalistes»[6], car l'information interprétée par eux a pour la plupart un caractère strictement documentaire. La géographie des lieux, l'architecture, le costume, la vie et les mœurs sont souvent traduits aléatoirement; les grandes maisons d'éditions européennes publient sans réserve des recueils d'images pleins d'exotisme sur ces endroits situés aux Portes de l'Orient[7].

C'est le moment où on assiste à une transformation radicale des mentalités, quand l'ancien mode de vie oriental est abandonné en faveur des mœurs et habitudes européennes. Une longue série de commanditaires apparaissent, provenant de l'aristocratie et de grands commerçants, qui tout en renonçant au portrait votif, peints sur les murs des églises, ordonnent d'imposants portraits à l'huile, images qu'ils peuvent exposer sur les murs de leurs propres salons pour en étaler leur origine, leurs goûts, leurs voyages, leurs statut social et cultural. Ils patronnent les artistes étrangers et autochtones, tout en incarnant les premières formes de mécénat. C'est le cas d'artistes renommés, tels que Giovanni Schiavoni en Moldavie, qui par suite des solutions trop radicales et trop novatrices vont se faire renvoyés par leurs commanditaires autochtones, doués d'un niveau d'exigence trop bas.

Dans la deuxième étape, marquée par l'année révolutionnaire de 1848 dans toute l'Europe, et puis concentrée sur l'Union des Principautés Roumaines en

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[6] Voir G. Oprescu, *Ţările Române văzute de artişti francezi* [Les Pays Roumains vus par les artistes français], Editura Cultura Naţională, Bucureşti, 1926 *et* Adrian Silvan-Ionescu, *Artă şi document. Arta documentaristă în România secolului al XIX-lea* [Art et document. L'Art documentaire en Roumanie au XIXe siècle], Bucureşti, 1990.

[7] Voir entre autre J. Alazard, *L'Orient et la peinture française au XIX^{e} siècle, d'Eugène Delacroix à Auguste Renoir,* Paris, 1930, Gerard-Georges Lemaire, *The Orient in the Western Art.* Préface par Geneviève Lacambre, Editura Könemann, München, 2005, Gerald M. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)*, ACR, 1997. Concernant la littérature voir aussi l'étude assez récent de Viorica S. Constantinescu, *Exotismul în literatura română din secolul al XIX-lea* [L'Exotisme dans la littérature roumaine du XIX^{e} siècle], Iaşi, Editura Universităţii «Al. I.Cuza», 1998, le chapitre sur les genres de l'exotique, p. 31-85.

1859, prennent forme les symboles iconographiques qui vont persister jusqu'au XX[e] siècle. Sous l'impacte crée par l'intérêt romantique pour l'histoire médiévale mais aussi pour celle récente, immédiate, on assiste au réveil de la conscience nationale. Les artistes autochtones, formés aux écoles des beaux-arts de France et d'Italie, commencent à illustrer les moments héroïques de la vie d'Étienne le Grand ou Michel le Brave, figures clefs de la lutte des Roumains pour leur liberté nationale. Munis par la conscience d'un passé glorieux, les artistes composent des recueils sur le costume ou sur les monuments en voie de disparition. Le voyage, ayant comme but de trouver des coins pittoresques (*Malerische Reise*) est désormais centrée sur la présentation de la vie rurale et les femmes patriotes de grands boyards, découvrent la beauté et la richesse du costume populaire roumain.

L'étape entre 1859 et 1900 est marquée par d'importants événements historiques, comme l'arrivée du prince Charles de Hohenzollern en 1866 comme prince Régnant et l'établissement d'une nouvelle dynastie. Ce fait a entraîné une série de transformations qui a touché aussi la vie artistique du pays, sensiblement modifiée après l'institution des deux écoles de beaux-arts à Bucarest et à Iassy dès 1864. L'enseignement artistique avait débuté sous les auspices du Néoclassicisme, l'état d'âme romantique étant remplacé par l'étude académique des antiquités ou les sources médiévales roumaines (qui se trouvaient en abondance dans les archives françaises ou à la Bibliothèque Nationale). La codification de la typologie des œuvres et la centralisation de l'enseignement artistique ont favorisé la diffusion d'un répertoire formel internationalisé. D'autre part, le prince Charles de Hohenzollern, amateur d'art et collectionneur avisé, et sa femme, la future reine Elisabeth, ont compris dès le début de leur règne le rôle et l'importance du mécénat artistique et ont soutenu un art officiel destiné à consolider l'image de la monarchie et à relever ses liens avec le peuple.

L'architecture et l'art populaire deviennent des thèmes d'études pour les peintres qui se rendent compte qu'il y a aussi dans le pays des sujets authentiques et pleines de charme. («J'ai cru que notre patrie présente assez de sujets digne d'être étudiés, assez de beautés originales et artistiques qui correspondrait dignement pour n'importe quelle galerie d'un musée du monde occidental», affirmait Nicolae Grigorescu dans une lettre pour le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, le 13 Juin 1864). C'est l'époque quand on dresse une iconographie inspirée de la vie rurale. La naissance, le mariage, la mort, les danses, les retours des champs ou du pâturage, les foires animés par la présence de plusieurs personnages habillés en de riches costumes de toutes les provinces, s'assemblent dans un répertoire visuel nouveau, où le témoin ethnographique a un rôle essentiel.

L'image plastique est une source ethnographique de premier rang, qui offre des informations relatives à un grand nombre d'éléments composant l'identité sociale et culturale des époques. Les données offertes sont multiples et sont redevables principalement au degré de distorsion et de filtrage opéré par chaque artiste par rapport à sa culture, son talent et aussi par les demandes, la culture et la

tolérance du commanditaire. La valeur de témoin de l'image este déterminée par plusieurs facteurs résultant de la fidélité de l'enregistrement du document ethnographique par les artistes, fidélité qui opère dans les divers degrés dans l'action d'élaborer le sujet, de la description quasi exacte (qui peut quelquefois utiliser la photographie pour augmenter l'authenticité du démarche), jusqu'aux transfigurations très personnelles, avec une stylistique hors pair, comme celle du Theodor Aman, Carol Pop de Szathmari, Nicolae Grigorescu ou Ştefan Luchian. De sorte qu'on établit une grille sui generis, centrée sur le style de l'auteur, son orientation, sa culture, la technique développée et l'intention poursuivie. Cette grille est déterminée aussi pare le commanditaire, étant, selon le cas, artistique ou documentaire. Quelquefois ces éléments s'entremêlent, comme dans le cas de la fameuse collaboration du peintre Henri Trenk et du savant archéologue Alexandru Odobescu[8].

Dans une catégorie intitulée «typologie des images» on réunit les diverses techniques d'enregistrement du spectacle visuel: la peinture, le dessin, la gravure ainsi que la photographie, procédés par lesquels on a transmis d'une génération à l'autre les compositions à caractère ethnographique et documentaire. En ce qui concerne les genres assimilés on note le portrait (dans les œuvres de Anton Chladek, Giovanni Schiavoni, Niccolò Livaditti, Ion Negulici, Constantin Daniel Rosenthal, Barbu Iscovescu, Mişu Popp, Theodor Aman et autres); le paysage avec personnages, ou le paysage structuré, avec décor architectural (Carol Pop de Szathmari, Nicolae Grigorescu, Sava Henţia); le genre (Amedeo Preziosi, Emil Volkers, Henri Trenk) ; la composition historique (Constantin Lecca, Theodor Aman, G. D. Mirea); la nature morte (Constantin Stahi). On a de même porté une attention spéciale aux témoignages ethnographiques qui peuvent être prélevées des lithographies (incunables lithographiques et exemplaires rares), œuvres appartenant aux artistes pérégrins (Michel Bouquet, Théodore Valério, Alfred Kunicke, Alois von Saar et autres).

Quant à la «typologie de l'information», concernant la culture matérielle de l'époque, qui constitue la source principale qui s'offrait aux artistes à décrire et ensuite à transfigurer, l'analyse se concentre sur les éléments d'habit et costume traditionnel, ainsi que sur l'architecture et la décoration des intérieurs, les mœurs et les occupations tels qu'ils apparaissent dans les œuvres de Theodor Aman, Carol Pop de Szathmari ou Nicolae Grigorescu. D'ailleurs Nicolae Grigorescu est le créateur des modèles iconographiques pénétrés dans la conscience de gens et qui ont modelé pour une longue période la perception et le goût du publique roumain. Ainsi, aux sources ethnographiques, vues de la perspective de l'évolution des

[8] MNAR [*Muzeul Naţional de Artă al României* – Musée National d'Art de la Roumanie], Henri Trenk, *Albumul arheologic şi pitoresc al mănăstirilor din districtele Argeş şi Vâlcea* [Album archéologique et pittoresque des monastères des districts d'Argeş et Vâlcea], (106 planches). Voir aussi *Henri Trenk şi arta restituirii tezaurelor* [Henri Trenk et l'art de la restitution des trésors], (Catalogue par Marica Grigorescu), Bucureşti, MNAR, 1992.

styles, sont dédiées une analyse combinatoire, du point de vue de l'histoire de l'art et de l'ethnographie, des sources visuelles et artistiques, en mesure d'offrir des informations partielles, pour dresser une vision de nature ethnographique sur le XIX[e] siècle. On cite ici les artistes voyageurs comme W. H. Bartlett, Auguste Raffet, Paul Thumann, J. Wimer[9] et autres, pour en extraire de leur œuvre documentaire les données de la vie publique roumaine de l'époque, qui au delà du pittoresque des scènes sont riches en renseignements sur le costume, la vie et les mœurs de la société des Pays Roumaines.

En ce qui intéresse les sources ethnographiques étudiées du point de vue de la succession des styles, un travail systématique devra présenter chronologiquement le Biedermeier, le Romantisme, l'Académisme, le Naturalisme et l'Impressionnisme, l'Historisme, le Symbolisme et L'Art Nouveau, en analysant l'activité des artistes représentatifs. On mentionne que ces styles ne se manifestent d'une manière unitaire et distincte, de sorte qu'il y existe plusieurs interférences et connexions. Quand même, on peut signaler comme appartenant au style Biedermeier les artistes comme Mihail Töpler, Franz Neuhauser cel Tânăr, Giovanni Schiavoni, Niccolò Livaditti, Josef August Schöfft, Miklos Barabás, Carol Wallenstein, Mihail Dan, Petre Mateescu et autres. Quant au Romantisme (plutôt un état d'âme qu'un style clairement délimité), comme un cas emblématique, nous proposons un artiste complexe: Carol Pop de Szathmari. Possédé par le souffle romantique, il était à la fois peintre et photographe, rapporteur de guerre et collectionneur d'images ethnographiques. Gheorghe Tattarescu, Theodor Aman et G. Demetrescu Mirea sont placés, grâce au certaines composantes de leur œuvre, dans le cadre de l'Académisme. En ce qui concerne le Naturalisme et l'Impressionnisme, concepts stylistiques qui interfèrent partiellement, nous proposons les images de Nicolae Grigorescu et Ioan Andreescu. Les informations ethnographiques qu'ils rendent sont d'une manière médiate, de même que les orientations symbolistes et de l'Art Nouveau de la fin du siècle, par lesquelles on effectue un changement de paradigme et le passage vers la modernité.

L'usage de la photographie comme source documentaire pour les accessoires et les typologies de la deuxième moitié du XIX[e] siècle, est un sujet encore assez peu étudié en Roumanie. De toute façon on peut se documenter sur la modalité dans laquelle des artistes tels que Theodor Aman ont utilisé des motifs extraits des compositions photographiques de Szathmari ou vraisemblablement d'Alexandru Bellu, pour assembler leurs compositions aux sujets rustiques[10]. Le goût des artistes

[9] Voir *Surse etnografice româneşti în grafica europeană a secolului al XIX-lea. I.1800-1859* [Sources ethnographiques roumains dans l'art graphique européenne du XIX[e] siècle. 1800 - 1859], (Catalogue par Mariana Vida), Bucureşti, MNAR, février - juin 2004.

[10] Voir Constantin Săvulescu, *Cronologia ilustrată a fotografiei din România* [La Chronologie ilustrée de la photographie en Roumanie: l'époque de 1834-1916], Bucureşti, 1985; Karin Schuller-Procopovici, *Ein Land aus dem Bilderbuch. Das Rumänienalbum des Carol Szathmari (1812-1887)*, dans *Salz und Silber. Zur Früzeit der Photographie im deutschen Sprachraum, 1839-1860*, (Catalogue), Köln und Heidelberg, 1989 p. 438 - 45. Voir aussi dans la revue *Arta* les articles de:

roumains pour l'Orient fournit aussi des informations concernant le mode de vie oriental, avec l'ensemble de mœurs, costumes et mentalités qui présumaient une longue vie en commun.

Le cas Biedermeier-Romantisme est singulier, les deux catégories étant à la fois les deux facettes des mêmes aspirations. Né de la réaction contre la rigidité néo-classique, mais nourri de sa rigueur technique et de son intérêt marquant vers le document relatif à la fidélité de la représentation de l'antiquité, le romantisme traverse, du point de vue de la théorie du croissance, applicable pour tous les styles artistiques, une période d'enfance, de maturité et de décadence. Dès sa période précoce, le Romantisme a une double caractéristique, l'une idéale et aventurière et l'autre, pragmatique, liée à l'univers domestique. Les artistes héros, qui ont participé aux guerres napoléoniennes et ceux qui ont pris part aux bouleversements des années 1830 et 1848 sont les représentants du romantisme, de l'enthousiasme et de l'envergure pendant que les petits maîtres, les naturalistes et les écrivains occasionnels sont pour la plupart des artistes Biedermeier, des observateurs paisibles, d'expression équilibrée. Les sources ethnographiques concernant le costume, le travail, les mœurs sont pour la grande majorité d'origine Biedermeier, classifiées et analysées soigneusement dans les portraits et les collections de costumes. Le paysage sera surtout l'apanage des artistes romantiques, genre cultivé passionnément, tout en relevant une nouvelle empathie de l'homme avec la nature.

Les prémisses de la typologie des images documentaires artistiques ont été longuement filtrés dans l'ambiance provinciale de nos pays, ou les échos stylistiques de l'Occident européen ont connu des retardements spectaculaires, d'approximatif un ou quelquefois deux décennies, mais aussi des situations

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Radu Ionescu, *Fotografia românească în secolul al XIX-lea* [La Photographie roumaine au XIXe siècle], nos. 7-8, 1982, p. 20-22; Anca Oroveanu, *Fotografia (1839-1989)* [La Photographie. 1839-1989], no. 10, 1989, p. 23-26; Ruxandra Balaci, *Câteva considerații cu privire la fotografie ca artă* [Quelques considérations sur la photographie comme œuvre d'art], no. 10, 1989, p. 27; Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Fotografia în secolul al XIX-lea: genuri, teme, compoziții artişti* [La Photographie au XIX^{e} siècle: genres, thèmes, compositions, artistes], no. 8, 1989, p. 19-21; idem, *Arta portretului în fotografia secolului al XIX-lea* [L'Art du portrait dans la photographie du XIX^{e} siècle], dans „Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei" [Études et recherches d'histoire de l'art], tom 34, 1987; idem, *Începuturile fotografiei etnografice în România* [Les Débuts de la photographie ethnographique en Roumanie], dans „Revista muzeelor" [Revue des musées], nr. 1, 199, p. 51-62. Pour l'activité de Charles Pop de Szathmari comme photographe voir aussi: *Fotografii de Carol Popp de Szathmari* [Photographies par *Carol Popp de Szathmari*] (Catalogue par Ruxandra Balaci), Bucureşti, MNAR, mars-avril 1992; *Uralkodók festje fényképésze Szathmári Pap Károly* [Szathmari Pap Károly, peintre et photographe des princes roumains], Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum, 2001, avec une ample bibliographie; *Expoziția Carol Pop de Szathmari (1812-1887). Martor al epocii* [L'Exposition Carol Pop de Szathmari (1812-1887). Témoin de son époque] (Catalogue supervisé par Adrian Silvan-Ionescu), Muzeul Militar Național, 26 septembre 2002 - avril 2003. En ce qui concerne l'œuvre d'Alexandru Bellu, voir l'excellent aperçu de Petre Costinescu, *Un fotograf de la sfârşitul veacului trecut. Alexandru Bellu* [Un photographe à la fin du siècle passé. Alexandru Bellu], Bucureşti, Editura Sport-Turism, 1987.

d'exceptionnel synchronisme tel le cas de Theodor Aman, qui a resserré des étapes presque insurmontables dans une originale synthèse picturale[11].

Une catégorie significative d'informations propose les arts populaires tangentiels à l'art culte, en fait les icônes sur verre et les xylographies. Les livres religieux ornés de gravures sur bois exécutés par les moines des monastères de Neamț[12], Blaj ou Râmnic[13] ont offert des modèles d'une grande extension, aux sujets iconographiques très populaires dans le monde paysan, en Transylvanie surtout[14]. Adaptées au monde rustique et douées avec des pouvoirs magiques, les compositions des xylogravures, des icônes sur verre (travaillées selon une technique importée de Bohème)[15] ou les peintures murales des églises en bois de Maramures ou de Bihor, ont comme élément commun une stylisation lapidaire, la concision du message et de l'expression. Elles assimilent dans une conception iconographique épurée de toute ingérence inutile, une vision authentiquement décorative, filtrée par la mémoire de la rhétorique baroque. Dans les scènes comme „La Naissance de l'enfant Jésus", „La Vierge avec l'enfant" ou „Saint Georges assommant le dragon" apparaissent des détails de costume (des chemises traditionnels roumains, des haut képis et panaches du costume militaire autrichien etc.) ou des descriptions autonomes, tels le cas des planches qui représentent un couple des nobles hongrois ou la composition de Pop Onisie, figurant deux personnages du théâtre populaire (Pista et Mariska)[16].

Les collections de costumes ont constitué une occupation constante de générations d'artistes du XIX^e^ siècle, munis par la charge d'y figurer le plus fidèlement possible l'Antiquité ou le Moyen Âge dans la peinture d'histoire. Souvent les compositions étaient traitées selon l'esprit contemporain, les héros des scènes étant habillés selon la mode du temps. Dès la fin du XVIIe siècle le vêtement d'apparat, le costume compliqué et coûteux de la noblesse, surtout française, fournit l'apparition des albums avec des types particuliers qui en peu de temps seront descendus des palais dans les rues animés par des personnages pittoresques. Un tel exemple c'est la série réalisée par Jean-Baptiste Bonnart (1654-1726), peintre et graveur du Roi, où, auprès d'une grande dame costumée dans une élégante robe d'été sont représentés le porteur d'eau ou la marchande des

[11] Voir Radu Bogdan, *Theodor Aman,* Bucureşti, 1955; *Centenar Theodor Aman*, Bucureşti; Mariana Vida, *Theodor Aman Gravor* [Theodor Aman Graveur], Bucureşti, Artis, 1993.

[12] Gheorghe Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamțul* [La Gravure sur bois au Monastère de Neamț], Bucureşti, Fundația regală pentru literatură şi artă, 1940.

[13] G. Oprescu, *Grafica românească în secolul la XIX-lea* [L'Art graphique au XIX^e^ siècle], vol. I, Bucureşti, Fundația regală pentru literatură şi artă, 1942 (le chapitre *La Gravure sur bois comme illustration du livre ancien*, p. 131-211).

[14] Voir *Xilogravura populară din Transilvania în secolele XVII - XIX* [Les xylogravures populaires de Transylvanie du XVII^e^ au XIX^e^ siècles] (Catalogue par Marica Grigorescu), Bucureşti, Muzeul de Artă al RPR, 1970.

[15] Iuliana Fabritius Dancu, *Icoane pe sticlă* [Icônes sur verre], Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane, 1970.

[16] Voir *Repertoriul graficii româneşti din secolul al XIX-lea* [Répertoire de l'art graphique roumain du XIX^e^ siècle], Bucureşti, Muzeul de Artă al RSR, vol II, 1975, nr. 2226 et 2232.

balais[17]. Les figures ont un rendu minutieux ayant les attributs de leur petit commerce sur un arrière-plan neutre, avec une explication en vers. Ce modèle va se perpétuer du XVII[e] au XIXe siècles et constitue une composante décisive des scènes de genre Biedermeier.

Les sources ethnographiques concernant les Pays Roumains sont riches, la quantité d'information étant différente d'une région à l'autre. Pour la Transylvanie y existent les „Trachtenkabinett"[18], des collections systématiques d'images documentaires dans lesquels les divers auteurs ont décrit scrupuleusement des typologies et costumes des Saxons, des Hongrois ou des Roumains. En l'absence des inventaires les informations croissent après 1821 et la paix d'Andrinople de 1828, lorsque l'Empire Ottoman est obligé d'accepter les princes d'origine roumaine et l'ouverture des Principautés Danubiennes vers une économie qui va dès lors s'occidentaliser. Souvent les croquis ou les études prises devant le motif étaient travaillés par les graveurs et ensuite multipliés dans les imprimeries et implicitement popularisés.

Un diplomate entreprenant, à la fois écrivain, a été Charles de Ferriol, marquis d'Argentan, l'ambassadeur de France à Constantinople. Il commanda à Jean-Baptiste van Mour (1671-1737) la splendide suite des costumes d'Orient, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant,* Paris, 1712-1713[19]. Les graveurs Bernard Baron (1696-1762), Paul Rochefort (1675-1728) ou Jean-Baptiste Haussard ont exécuté les cuivres pour *Gentilhomme Valaque, Princesse de Valachie* ou *Demoiselle de Valachie*[20], compositions qui restent de remarquables documents aux sujets roumains, par le soin du détail de longs costumes fourrés, avec de riches soies ou des typologies orientales avec des grands yeux langoureux.

Sur la route vers Constantinople, Palestine ou Tibet, les voyageurs étrangers passent inévitablement par le Danube, vers la mer Noire, font des relais à Bucarest ou à Iassy sur le chemin de la Russie. Ainsi plusieurs images gardent souvent les perspectives des localités parsemées sur le long du Danube. Les albums avec des vues gravées ou lithographiées (remplacés plus tard par les albums de

[17] Collection du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie (ensuite MNAR), Cabinet des dessins et des gravures: inv.no. 35753 et 35755, burins, 1694. Voir aussi François Courboin, *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France*, Maurice Le Garrec, Paris, 1923/1929, vol II.

[18] Eugen Barbul, *Costume românești din veacul al XVII-lea* (Costumes roumains du XIX[e] siècle), Biblioteca Universității din Cluj, Cluj, 1935, p. 4. Voir aussi les recueils *Köstumbilderbuch XVII Jahre* conservés à la Bibliothèque de Graz (Autriche) constitués de 99 aquarelles avec femmes et hommes de diverses contrées de Transylvaine, de la Moldavie, de Bucarest et de Turquie, *Köstume Bilder am Siebenbürgen. Tabulae pictae et coloratae*, 91 aquarelles avec costumes et portraits des princes de Transylvanie qui se trouvent à la Bibliothèque de la Galerie Nationale Hongroise de Budapest.

[19] Voir aussi Eugen Lovinescu, *Les Voyageurs français en Grèce au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1909.

[20] B. Baron d'après Jean-Baptiste van Mour, *Gentilhomme valaque*, burin, MNAR inv. no. 1221; P. Rochefort, *Princesse de Valachie* (Madame Pulcheria, la femme de Nicolae Mavrocordat, prince régnant phanariote, morte en 1716), MNAR inv. no. 1223 ; Jean-Baptiste Haussard, *Demoisellede Valachie*, burin, inv. no. 1222.

photographies) étaient des vrais substituts des excursions pittoresques dans des contrées étrangères. C'était une mode qui venait d'Angleterre, lorsque les fêtes de Noël arrivaient on faisait cadeau les *keepsakes*, des recueils hétéroclites de souvenirs littéraires et visuelles.

Toujours avide de nouvelles informations destinées à satisfaire la curiosité, le collectionneur d'images trouve son chemin vers les Pays Roumains. Situés à la proximité d'Orient, dominés à l'époque par l'Empire Ottoman, elles constituaient un charmant territoire exotique pour les dénicheurs d'inédit et pour les hauts fonctionnaires des pouvoirs étrangères, une heureuse opportunité de faire connaître dans leurs pays d'origine des dates topographiques et ethnographiques des Principautés. L'intérêt de l'Occident envers la région des Balkans s'accroît à mesure que l'Empire Ottoman est de plus en plus en décadence et qu'il ouvre sans cesse les frontières pour les voyageurs. Le mystérieux Orient dévoile ses secrets face aux expéditions scientifiques ou simplement touristiques. Munis par une observation précise, les artistes voyageurs ont présenté, plus ou moins artistiquement, les vues et les typologies humaines rencontrées le long de ces périples aventureux, pour la plupart composant une image cohérente de la vie des habitants des Pays Roumains du début du XIX^{e} siècle. Ces documents visuels disparates dressent ainsi une représentation homogène, marqué par la vision romantique sur l'histoire et par la conception endettée à la mythologie du spécifiques à ce moment. Les estampes les plus anciennes gardent la tradition des recueils anonymes de costumes de l'Europe Centrale, réalisées d'après les dessins exécutées *in situ.*

Le goût pour ce type de compositions y existe pendant tout le parcours du siècle et les images sont conçues dans des formules de plus en plus attractives, en intégrant aussi des paysages avec des gens figurés au travail ou aux fêtes [21]. La renommée de l'administration de l'Empire des Habsbourgs résidait dans l'ancien modèle roman en utilisant des équipes d'ingénieurs – topographes et de dessinateurs – paysagistes. Après avoir pris des croquis sur le vif, les artistes adaptaient le matériel dans l'atelier en lui rendant une vraie aura. Les paysages de Bucovine de Franz-Xavier Knapp, d'Alexander Trichtl en Transylvanie ou de Ludwig Erminy sur les rives du Danube montrent un perçant esprit d'observation, accentué par l'interprétation réaliste du détail et par la construction panoramique de l'image, des traits stylistiques particuliers à l'école hollandaise de paysage.

Parmi les dessinateurs étrangers qui ont traversé les Principautés Roumains, les Français ont eu, à coté des Autrichiens, la contribution la plus décisive vu la description des réalités autochtones. Des vrais artistes ethnographes, tels les

[21] *Views in Turkey in Europe and Asia, comprising Rumelia ,Bulgaria, Wallachia, Syria and Palestine,* selected from the collection of Sir Robert Ainslie, drawn by Luigi Meyer and engraved by William Watts, with an elucidative letter-press, Londra, 1801, apud Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor prin călători* [Histoire des Roumains par les voyageurs], Bucureşti, 1981, p. 402. Nous citons, par exemple, les deux aquarelles réalisées par Carol Pop de Szathmari et Amédeo Preziosi, d'après les modèles de Luigi Meyer: *Dâmboviţa lângă Biserica Radu Vodă* [Dâmboviţa près de l'église de Radu Vodă], (1868), inv. no. 2957 et *Pod peste Bucureşioara* [Pont sur la Bucureştioara], (1868), inv. no. 2997.

peintres-graveurs et lithographes Auguste Raffet, Michel Bouquet ou Théodore Valério, ont enregistré dans de mémorables compositions (pour la plupart des lithographies, incunables ou post-incunables lithographiées), les traits spécifiques de la vie et des mœurs des Principautés. Suivant l'évolution de la technique lithographique on peut identifier plusieurs étapes successives: feuille imprimée en blanc et noir, feuille colorée à la main aux pochoirs avec des couleurs d'eau, et enfin celle imprimée en plusieurs couleurs typographiques (soit en deux couleurs soit en plusieurs couleurs complémentaires).

Ensuite, nous allons présenter alphabétiquement une série d'auteurs qui ont travaillé surtout des planches à l'eau-forte ou lithographie. On va commencer par un anonyme (actif à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle et au début du XIX[e] siècle) dont les planches font partie d'un *Trachtenkabinett. Femmes près Mehadia*[22] montre d'une manière idéalisée les femmes de la région de Banat, habillées dans le costume populaire traitée avec exactitude (le *opreg* ou un sorte de tablier avec des longs franges, la blouse spécifique, la veste en peau de mouton et la parure de la tête), de sorte qu'on peut en distinguer les particularités dans le costume traditionnel occasionnel aujourd'hui même.

William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854), peintre et dessinateur, a voyagé suivant le cours du Danube, de Orşova à Sulina, et a réalisé un album sur le Danube gravé avec William Mossman et publié à Londres en 1842. Ses images sont d'un grand intérêt documentaire tant pour le paysage pittoresque que pour les mœurs de la population roumaine. *Une noce à Orşova* [23] est une composition d'inspiration romantique qui mélange l'authentique avec l'imaginaire, en fait une idylle rurale ayant comme sujet une noce paysanne. Selon la tradition des fêtes hollandaises du XVII[e] siècle, le peintre présente la cour d'une ferme ou les gens qui dansent frénétiquement dans leurs costumes de fête, dans un paysage majestueux, dont les ruines rappellent un passé historique plein de grandeur.

Peintre, dessinateur graveur et lithographe, Auguste-Denis-Marie Raffet (1804-1860)[24] a été l'élève de Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet et du baron Gros. Ses deux maîtres étaient des fervents admirateurs de Napoléon I[er] et Raffet lui-même était le fils d'un brave soldat de l'armée de l'Empereur. C'est là la source de l'admiration et de la contribution décisive de Raffet à la consolidation de la mythologie napoléonienne par images. Les qualités d'habile dessinateur recommandent Raffet au prince russe Anatole Demidoff de San Donato, grand amateur d'art et mécène. Voyageur passionné il initia entre 1837-1838 une expédition scientifique dans la Russie et la Crimée confiant à Raffet l'enregistrement, comme dans un film, des moments du passage à travers l'Europe.

[22] MNAR, eau-forte coloriée à la main, inv. no. 11666.

[23] MNAR, gravure sur acier, coloriée à la main, inv. no. 11665

[24] Henri Beraldi, *Les Graveurs du XIX[e] siècle. Guide de l'amateur d'estampes modernes*, vol. I-XII, Paris, Librairie L. Conquet, 1885-1892, vol. IV, p. 115-121. Voir aussi Léonce Bénédite, *La Peinture au XIX[e] siècle*, Paris, E. Flammarion éditeur, f. a.

Entre le philanthrope et l'artiste naît une amitié qui durera jusqu'à la mort du peintre. Les plus belles aquarelles de Raffet ont été acquises pour la collection du palais de San Donato ou seront préservées jusqu'en 1870. Le résultat de ce travail est un inestimable *corpus* intitulé: *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie*[25].

Les voyages pluridisciplinaires sont devenus célèbres avec l'expédition de Napoléon I^er^ en Egypte en 1796 et puis décrites avec un énorme succès dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e^ siècle par Jules Verne. Aux expéditions participaient savants et artistes (celle de Demidoff comprenait presque 22 membres) qui devaient faire face aux périls de toute sorte: le climat capricieux, les chemins difficiles, l'attaque des brigands ou la suspicion des autorités locaux. Le courage, l'esprit aventureux, mais surtout la curiosité scientifique sont la source de ce précieux matériel ou les Pays Roumains ont un rôle à part. Intéressé par la vérité et par la reconstitution exacte de la réalité environnante, Raffet expose avec humour les péripéties du voyage, signalant quelquefois sa présence par un carnet, un crayon ou la boîte aux couleurs „oubliés" dans le paysage. L'artiste montre des qualités d'ethnographe et d'orientaliste talentueux, comme le prouvent les dessins originaux conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (analysés en détail par G. Oprescu)[26] et les feuilles disparates qui se trouvent dans les collections roumains. Signalons deux séquences surprises à Cerneți, dans la contrée de Mehedinți (*La Jok)* et à Bucarest, à la maison du „hospodar" (prince régnant) Alexandre Ghica (*Ronde valaque exécutée par des Tsiganes*), qui dévoilent un intérêt spécial pour la danse roumaine traditionnelle.[27] La présence des musiciens tziganes et les pas de la danse sont les mêmes dans le milieu rural de Cerneți que chez les jeunes officiers de Bucarest, habillés avec les uniformes de parade d'inspiration russe. Le mélange entre les traditions locales et les éléments de la civilisation occidentale sont définitoires aussi dans une autre composition intitulée *Le passage de Buzău*[28], où les voyageurs sont obligés de descendre tandis que la diligence est traînée par les chevaux.

Un autre artiste qui a pris des croquis en Valachie pour les reprendre ensuite à Paris a été Michel Bouquet (1807-1890). Issu d'une ancienne famille de marins bretons, animé par le goût de l'aventure (il voyagea en Italie, en Grèce et en Orient) Bouquet fut l'élève d'un ancien disciple de Girodet-Trioson, Jean-Antoine-Théodore Gudin. Avec son maître, Bouquet travailla dans La Grande Galerie de peintures à Versailles dans l'esprit du romantisme, avec verve et emphase, surtout des paysages L'un de ses plus connus albums a été lithographié chez Lemercier, à Paris en 1843: *Album Valaque. Vues et costumes pittoresques de la Valachie dessinés d'après nature par Michel Bouquet*. Bouquet se trouvait en 1840-1842 en

[25] Imprimées par Auguste Bry, édition Gihaut - frères, Paris, 1838-1848 (4 volumes, 1 atlas et 1 album avec 100 lithographies).

[26] G. Oprescu, *Țările Române..., op. cit.* (note 8), p. 36-53.

[27] Planche no. 10 et 18 de l'album *Voyage dans la Russie...,* MNAR, lithographies sur Chine (17,7 x 27,5 et 21,8 x 34,5 cm, inv. nos. 155 et 3136.

[28] Planche no. 19 de l'album *Voyage dans la Russie...,* MNAR, lithographie sur Chine (18,5 × 32,5, cm, inv. no. 143.

Valachie ou il traversa un parcours assez complexe qui comprenait: Bucarest, Câmpulung, Târgovişte, la vallée de Prahova. Après avoir descendu le Danube, de Orşova à Sulina, il voyagea aussi en Moldavie et en Olténie. Ses compositions attentivement bâties, le soin du détail rappellent ses confrères orientalistes, tels Prosper Marilhat ou Théodore Frère. *Album valaque* comprend 12 planches lithographiées par Eugène Cicéri, Férogio et Bouquet lui-même. Les images (dont quelques-unes ont été utilisées comme source documentaire pour les restaurations du XIX[e] siècle) surprennent la beauté des monuments médiévaux, des ornements de l'architecture de Brancovan ou les mœurs et les costumes. Le parcours a été reconstitué par le professeur G. Oprescu d'après les 28 dessins conservés dans la bibliothèque G.Sion de l'Université de Cluj Napoca[29].

Dans la collection du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie il y a, hors des planches disparates, deux exemplaires complets[30], mais aussi des images avec des costumes roumains publiées par la maison parisienne Aubert. Entre 1850 et 1855 celle-ci publia d'après les dessins de Bouquet les séries suivantes: *Galerie Royale de costumes* (10 planches lithographiées par Janet-Lange), *Musée de costumes* et *Musée cosmopolite* (avec des planches gravées en acier par Ch.-M. Geoffroy, L.-F. Guérdet, A. Portier). La planche publiée par Bouquet dans l'Album valaque, intitulée *Dans la cour du monastère de Câmpulung,*[31] est proche des modèles du Baron Taylor et de son imposant travail sur les vues et les monuments de l'ancienne France[32]. L'artiste français décrit, à son tour, muni par un sentiment romantique le monument gothique de Câmpulung à côté du porche en vieux style roumain et les logis du cloître en ruine. La cour est presque déserte, animé seulement dans un coin par un chariot autour duquel se trouvent de paysans en repos.

Un des collaborateurs de Bouquet a été Eugène Cicéri (1813-1890). Peintre, lithographe et aquarelliste, Cicéri a collaboré avec le baron Taylor, réalisant les vues pour Picardie, Bretagne, Dauphiné, Normandie etc. Il a travaillé à Barbizon, Fontainebleau et Marlotte se rattachant au réalisme et aux nouvelles expérimentes sur la lumière. La planche célèbre *L'Auberge de Manouk à Bucarest* (aujourd'hui un document indispensable pour la restauration du monument (la dernière en 1968)

[29] G. Oprescu, *Ţările Române...*, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 26-35.

[30] MNAR inv. no 16068-16079 (avec reliure marqué: *Hyppolite Blaremberg, Bucarest, 1844*) et inv. no. 27365-27376 (planches détachées, coloriées à la main avec aquarelle et gouache, provenant de la collection du docteur Mircea Petrescu). Voir aussi *Incunabule litografice şi exemplare rare din colecţia Cabinetului de Desene şi Gravuri* [Incunables lithographiées et exemplaires rares provenant de la collection du Cabinet des dessins et des gravures du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie], (Catalogue par Mariana Vida), Bucureşti, MNAR, 1999.

[31] MNAR, lithographie en deux couleurs, d'après le dessin de M. Bouquet, 25,5 × 38,5 cm, inv. no. 8564.

[32] *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, œuvre monument pour l'histoire de la lithographie et document exceptionnel concernant l'histoire du patrimoine architectonique français, édité entre 1820 - 1878, par le baron Isidore Taylor, dans 570 fascicules avec 3282 planches. Chaque région de la France a été présentée en images par les plus prestigieux artistes. Voir aussi Janine Bailly-Hertzberg, *L'Art du paysage en France au XIX[e] siècle. De l'atelier au plein air*, Flammarion, Paris, 2000, p. 25-29.

reproduit fidèlement le dessin de Bouquet, en lui rendant une atmosphère romantique. C'est une vue de la cour intérieure pleine de chariots et délimitée par l'architecture d'influence balkanique (fortifiée au rez-de-chaussée et ouverte vers le premier étage avec une élégante colonnade de piliers en bois sculptés).

Un autre associé de Bouquet a été François-Fortuné-Antoine Férogio (1805-1888), peintre lithographe et graveur français. Il étudia avec le baron Gros (1825) et eut une activité prodigieuse. Pour *l'Album valaque* il travailla les scènes avec des paysans groupés autour d'une grande croix. C'était une occasion de présenter leur costume et leur typologie, voir la composition intitulée *Costumes de Valachie*[33]. Toujours d'après les dessins de l'*Album valaque,* Charles-Michel Geoffroy (1819-1882) a exécuté aussi des gravures sur acier. Après avoir étudié à l'École des beaux-arts il conquerra l'appréciation des éditeurs Furne et Gonet pour ses interprétations romantiques d'après les œuvres de Diaz de la Peña. Il interprètera les dessins de Bouquet dans une manière idyllique tel la planche *Jeune fille de Valachie*[34]. Ayant les traits d'une madone, la jeune fille sourit devant une maison pauvre de campagne, dans un paysage aride, vêtue au costume de travail, avec chemise longue, tablier en laine et ceinture, sans souliers et portant un récipient pour l'eau, en bois.

Pour le recueil *Musée de costume* qui traduisait aussi les dessins de Bouquet, Laurent-François Guérdet (1830-?) a réalisé des planches sur acier. Il se spécialise surtout dans la description des costumes richement ornés, tels les *Dorobantz du district de Romanați*[35] ou *Pâtre nomade de Valachie*[36], de même que son confrère Adolphe Portier de Beaulieu (1820-1889), auteur des sujets divers pour le recueil *Le Musée cosmopolite* (1850-1863), tel *Pâtre moldave des bords du Danube*[37] où le personnage est habillé plutôt à la manière d'un mousquetaire, rappelant le style troubadour des romantiques.

L'interprète le plus fidèle de Bouquet reste Louis Janet-Lange (1815-1872), peintre d'histoire de genre, portraitiste et lithographe, ancien élève d'Ingres et Horace Vernet. Sous l'influence de Vernet il a projeté une suite de costumes militaires à la commande du maréchal Soult et il s'est inspiré de la guerre de Crimée. Il collabora avec les éditeurs du recueil *Galerie royale de costumes* (1842-1848) avec la suite *Costumes valaques*, accomplie d'une manière conventionnelle mais pleine de charme. *Voiturier tzigane sur la route de Iassy*[38] de 1845 présente une typologie exotique, tant l'analyse de la race spécifique et du

[33] MNAR, lithographie coloriée d'après le dessin de M. Bouquet, 24,5 × 41 cm, inv. no. 105329/27366.

[34] Planche no. 192 de l'album intitulé *Musée de costumes*, Paris, [1850-1855], d'après le dessin de M. Bouquet, MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 19 x 11 cm, inv. no. 35175/372.

[35] Planche no. 37 du *Musée de costume,* MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 21,5 × 14 cm, inv. no. 35309/522.

[36] Planche no. 39 du *Musée de costume* [1850-1855], MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 20 × 10 cm inv. no. 35310/523.

[37] Planche no. 101 du *Musée cosmopolite*, [1850-1855], MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 29,5 × 10 cm inv. no. 35349/187.

[38] Planche no. 3 de l'album *Galerie royale de costumes,* Paris, 1845, MNAR, lithographie coloriée et vernissée. 33,5 × 23,5 cm, inv. 38869/66.

costume avec une longue chemise blanche, une ceinture en cuir et un manteau en gros tissu blanc avec des ornements rouges. Il a la tête couverte d'un grand chapeau de fourrure et tient dans la main un fouet, attribut de son occupation principale. *Homme de la montaigne. Kimpolongo et Jeune fille valaque*[39] portent le costume vivement coloré de la région. L'homme porte l'habit des pâtres riches, avec chapeau noir, bottes et une longue pelisse. La fille est une beauté brune, avec les cheveux en bandeaux et de gros colliers en corrals et or.

Un autre élève de Charlet fut Théodore Valério (1819-1879)[40], peintre aquafortiste et lithographe. Tout comme Raffet il a un intérêt spécial pour les sujets militaires, pour costumes et typologies romantiques. Il est un voyageur acharné et entre 1854 et 1855 il visite la Serbie, les Principautés et en 1863 la côte de Dalmatie et le Monténégro. Au parcours de ces tours il travaille le dessin ethnographique de grande précision et au Salon de 1855 ses études et aquarelles lui apportent le succès. Il les transpose un peu plus tard dans sa technique préférée, l'eau-forte, dont il était un virtuose, dans un album avec des précieuses informations visuelles sur les habitants du bassin du bas Danube. Sous le titre de *Souvenirs de la monarchie autrichienne. Suite de dessins d'après nature gravés à l'eau-forte par Théodore Valério*[41] le recueil présente: la Hongrie, la Dalmatie, les frontières militaires et les populations des provinces danubiennes en 1854 et il sera complété en 1864 avec deux nouvelles séries: la Serbie et le Monténégro. Tout en gardant le modèle des suites qui montre les habitants pendant qu'ils travaillent ou fêtent, Valério confère à ses personnages des attitudes fières, même héroïques rappelant le Romantisme. C'est possible que l'artiste rencontra Charles Szathmari à Calafat ou à Silistra en 1854, pendant la guerre de Crimée, car les deux artistes ont exécuté sur cette route l'image d'une belle fille portant du lait, au village de Tunari, près de Bucarest[42]. En hommage de leur rencontre, Valério fait cadeau à Szathmari ses estampes avant la lettre, une portant la dédicace: «À monsieur Szathmari, souvenir affectueux/Valério»[43].

Suivant seulement les quelques exemples susmentionnés on peut conclure pour l'instant que l'image visuelle est une source ethnographique de premier ordre, qui touche les composants essentiels de l'identité sociale et culturelle des communautés dans des époques distinctes et surtout au XIX^{e} siècle. Les informations relatives aux Roumains, qui succèdent tout le long du siècle, sont multiples sous rapport non seulement diachronique mais aussi synchronique. Par les qualités spécifiques de langage symbolique, l'image visuelle cache dans sa substance la force de modeler la pensée et d'anticiper les goûts et les profils culturels que les artistes créent pour leurs contemporains.

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[39] Planche no. 5 et no. 10 de l'album *Galerie royale de costumes,* MNAR, lithographies coloriées et vernissées, 33,5 × 23,5 cm inv. nos. 68 et 65.

[40] Henri Beraldi, *op. cit.* (note 26), vol XII, p. 31-85.

[41] Voir G. Oprescu, *Ţările Române...*, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 54-59.

[42] Théodore Valério, *Femme valaque de Tunari,* planche no. IX de la suite *Les populations des provinces danubiennes*, MNAR, eau-forte, 29 x 19 cm inv. no. 7364 ; Charles Szathmari, *Laitière de Tunari*, aquarelle, MNAR, inv. 7247.

[43] Voir Théodore Valério, *Les Populations des provinces danubiennes. Costumes de la Hongrie et des Provinces Danubiennes*, MNAR, inv. no. 17410.

Fig. 1. Anonyme autrichien (?). *Femmes près Mehadia* (début du XIX[e]), eau-forte coloriée.

Fig. 2. Louis Janet Lange (1815–1872). *Jeune fille valaque* [1845], lithographie coloriée.

Fig. 3. Carol Pop de Szathmari (1812–1887). *Laitière de Tunari*, Ilfov [1855], aquarelle.

Fig. 4. Nicolae Grigorescu (1838–1907). *Petite paysanne* [1878–1880], aquarelle.

Fig. 5. Charles-Michel Geoffroy (1819–1882) d'après Michel Bouquet, *Jeune fille valaque* [1850–1855], gravure sur acier, pl. du „Musée cosmopolite".

Fig. 6. Adolphe Portier (1820–1889). *Pâtre moldave des bords du Danube* [1850–1855], gravure sur acier, pl. du „Musée de costumes".

Fig. 7. Auguste Raffet (1804–1860). *La Jok. Danse Valaque. Tschernez*. 9 juillet 1837, lithographie.

Fig. 8. Theodor Aman (1831–1891). *La ceinture. Danse de Roumanie*, [1876], eau-forte.

Fig. 9 – Auguste Raffet (1804–1860) – *Le Passage de Buzău* (1837), lithographie.

Fig. 10 – Eugène Cicéri (1813–1890) d'après Michel Bouquet – *L'auberge de Manouc* (1843), lithographie coloriée.

Adolf Schullerus, *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor. Conform sistemului tipologiei basmului întocmit de Antti Aarne*. Traducere din limba germană de Magda Petculescu. Ediţie îngrijită şi prefaţă de I. Oprişan [*The Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and their variants. According to Antti Aarne Folktale Typology System.* Translation from German by Magda Petculescu. Edition and preface written by I. Oprişan], Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2006, 174 p., ISBN: 973-642-108-2.

In 2008 AD we wonder if there is still any validity in the meaningful words written by Mihail Kogălniceanu in 1840, in *Introducţie* [Introduction] to the journal "Dacia literară" [Literary Dacia], words according to which, at that time, the 'desire to imitate' had become a 'dangerous mania', stifling 'the national spirit within ourselves' and 'the translations can't replace literature'. However, it's a fact that the rhythm of translations and publications has become extremely alert nowadays, our national literature, consisting either of classical or contemporary works, being visibly overcome by the offer of foreign literature. We are faced with the same situation when it comes to scientific works, the Romanian authors having a hard time competing with their foreign peers, who benefit from low-cost, easily accesible online editions, written in their native language (especially when the native language is English).

The strategy that exists or at least should exist within publishing houses regarding the selection of authors and titles very often seems to be guided by the notion of 'public success', according to the healthy or ill-conceived principle, more or less correct that everything that sells well in New York or Paris will definitely be a 'home success' in Bucharest or Vaslui, especially when it comes to fiction. In this way, the market is simply invaded by the *'consumerism literature'*, the so-called 'popular literature' or 'trivial Literatur (in German) on both levels – artistic and scientific.

As to the relatively limited segment of books of folklore/folkloristics, ethnology, anthropology, having a limited, specialized, professional target reader, this segment of literature suffers great injustice due to its rather reduced visibility and lack of adequate promotion, such books running the risk of remaining unknown even to those for whom they had been specially translated, to those they are addressed, their potential beneficiaries, readers and critics altogether.

Among the books written by Romanian or foreign authors, in a language other than Romanian and recently translated into Romanian, our attention is drawn to this particular book – *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor* (*The Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and Their Variants)* by Adolf Schullerus. The author, born in Romania (on the 7th of March 1864, in "Făgăraş village", as his biographer Herman Kügler wrote, and who died on the 27th of January 1928), is the only folklorist belonging to this cultural space who published in the famous series "FFC" ("Folklore Fellow Communication") of the Finnish Academy of Science – Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia [and not *Fiedeakatemia*, as it was misspelt in *Nota asupra ediţiei* (*Note on edition*, page 9; a line above even the author's name was misspelt!] – a pioneering work in the field of folklore, *Verzeichnis der rumänischen Märchen und Märchenvarianten nach dem System der Märchen Typen Antti Aarnes*, Helsinki, 1928.

Both the translator and editor opted for the term 'typology', when the German title makes it clear that the work is a 'catalogue', the same way that the title of the fundamental study written by the

Finnish Antti Aarne that served as a model to Adolf Schullerus is *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* ("FF Communication", No. 3, 1910, second edition, 1928). The idea of 'classification' (different from that of 'typology') is also maintained in the extended English edition of Antti Aarne's 'catalogue', written by the American Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*, "FF Communication", No 184, Helsinki, 1961 (revised edition 1964), known under the scientific quotation of AT or ATh, initials indicating the two authors (the Finnish Aarne and the American Thompson) of the Folktales International Catalogue.

Beyond these observations that may seem rather pedantic but remain important for the recognition of Schullerus's work in the present day, what truly remains is his great cultural gesture of transposing a fundamental work for the Romanian culture into the language of his adoptive country.

Adolf Schullerus belongs to the generous gallery of Transylvanian Saxon folklorists (Arthur and Albert Schott, Franz Obert, Pauline Schullerus etc.) preoccupied with the folklore creation of their Romanian fellow countrymen from Transylvania and Banat; it is through their selections and translations that the Romanian folklore creation was introduced into the literary and scientific European circuit, even before Vasile Alecsandri managed to organize his famous collection *Poezii populare. Balade sau cântice bătrâneşti (Popular poems. Ballads or traditional songs),* 2 volumes, 1852-53, known worldwide due to its French, English and German editions.

Adolf Schullerus's *Tipologia...*, recently published due to the editorial initiative of I. Oprişan, stands out as an important moment in the research of the Romanian popular prose and indicates a very early tendency of the Romanian folktales research to synchronize with the new directions present in international research. The outspokenly declared model of Schullerus's work is the Finnish Antti Aarne's 'catalogue', *Verzeichnis der Märchen Typen*, "FFC" no. 3, Helsinki, 1910; thus, Schullerus's work is placed among the first echoes of the famous above-mentioned catalogue outside Northwestern Europe, and Scandinavian-Baltic space, a catalogue which was to become, due to Stith Thompson's additions, one of the most treasured research tools in the study of popular narratives.

Schullerus's attempt remained unique and somehow unfitting in the Romanian folklore studies in comparison with numerous other cultures that later elaborated typologies/catalogues of their national repertory of folktales, thus acknowledging and perfecting the scheme proposed by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. Among the latest catalogues that we are familiar with is Liliana Daskalova Perkowski, Doroteja Dobreva, Jordanka Koceva & Evgenija Miceva, *Typenverzeichnis der bulgarischen Volksmarchen.* Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Klaus Roth (*The Catalogue of the Bulgarian folktales types*), "FF Communication, no. 275, Helsinki, 1995: "The index registers over 5500 variants throughout the Bulgarian speakers area. The folktales are classified into 1600 types, according to Aarne-Thompson system, more than half of which have no correspondent whatsoever in *The Types of the Folktale*", cf. "FFNetwork" no. 11, October 1995, p. 8, and even a re-edition, Seán Ó Súilleabháin and Reider Th. Christiansen, *The Types of the Irish Folktale*, "FFC" no. 188, Helsinki, 2000; first edition, 1963: as it is written in the presentation of the new edition, in "FFNetwork" no. 24, May 2003, p. 27, "the catalogue offers a useful image upon Irish folktales, especially to non-Irish readers", exploiting printed sources and *archive manuscripts* (my underline – N. C.); it also follows the pattern of classification used by A. Aarne and St. Thompson, "highlighting the unique characteristics of the Irish tradition", an intelligent argument invoked in favour of such an undertaking.

One might wonder what would be the point of such a standardized repertory of popular prose. The mere reason that justifies the terribly complicated work of elaborating such catalogues resides in their particular quality of being useful intellectual tools; standardizing the information makes it easier for those interested to search and identify a certain folktale and its motifs. It is for this reason that choosing to ignore ATh or its up-to-date variant written by Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*, 3 vol., "FFC" no. 284-286, Helsinki, 2004, known under the abbreviation ATU (Aarne-Thompson-Uther), means signing your exclusion from or assuming your position at the periphery of the international scientific research. One may say that in 1928, through Schullerus's *Catalogue...* we were closer to European trends in folktale research than we are today.

Little was the Saxon folklorist's work known in Romania, though there had been references to it and attempts to acknowledge its value. The editor of the Romanian edition, I. Oprişan, reprinted the following studies in the Addendum to the volume translated: Corneliu Bărbulescu, *Catalogul poveştilor populare româneşti. Note preliminare (The Catalogue of the Romanian Folktales. Preliminary Notes)* "REF", 1-2, 1960, I. C. Chiţimia, *Problemele clasificării şi definirii literaturii populare româneşti (Difficulties in classifying and defining the Romanian folk literature)*, "SCILF", III, 1954, Hermann Klüger, *Adolf Schullerus. In memoriam*, "FFC" no. 80, 1928, and Ovidiu Papadima, *Adolf Schullerus şi folclorul românesc* (fragmente) (*Adolf Schullerus and the Romanian Folklore – fragments)* in the volume *Literatura populară română (Romanian Folk Literature)*, 1968. The four contributions from the *Addendum* are in alphabetic order, after the name of the author, though their chronological order would have proved the consistency of preoccupations for this subject, extending over a four decade span (1928-1968).

Hermann Klüger's nine page obituary, *Adolf Schullerus zum Gedächnis*, contains not only a warm *In Memoriam* for the vicar bishop and priest in Sibiu, the headmaster of Agnita Elementary School, German teacher at Sibiu Seminary, Ph. D, with the thesis *Critica vechii credinţe nordice în Valhala (Critics of the northern belief in Valhala)*, but also an eulogistic discourse about Adolf Schullerus as a dedicated researcher of his Saxon fellow countrymen's history, language and folklore, as an erudite folklorist specialized in Romanian folktales, tracing their genesis and studying folklore "on historical basis, a requirement that the present – 1928 – can no longer ignore if we are determined to maintain the true character of the science that signed its declaration of independence (he refers to folk science – my note N.C.) and if we refuse to return to folk science seen as a friendly game or as a history of sound evolution".

The Romanian version of Adolf Schullerus's *Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and their variants* offers a sample of thorough and careful German *Arbeit*. This work can be added to the excellent edition of the brothers Arthur and Albert Schott's collection *Basme valahe cu o introducere despre poporul valah şi o anexă destinată explicării basmelor* [Vlach Folktales with an Introduction about the Vlach People and an Appendix Destined to Explaining the Folktales] (1845; translation, preface and notes by Viorica Nişcov, Editura Polirom, 2003), and to the admirable transposition of Richard Kunisch's journey notes into Romanian, *Bucureşti şi Stambul. Schiţe din Ungaria, România şi Turcia* [Bucharest and Istambul. Sketches in Hungary, Romania and Turkey] (translation from German, preface and notes by Vorica Nişcov, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2000, an edition in which one can find Mihai Eminescu's poem *Luceafărul* [The Morning Star], the prototype accepted by literary historians). Despite the inherent difficulties of such an approach, the publishing of the Schullerus *Catalogue* of 1928 is a serious undertaking that, sad to say, national research institutes and groups of people paid by the state budget failed to carry out years after years.We do hope that the 1928 version of Schullerus's *Catalogue*, now translated (with some imperfections, due to the fact that the translator was not quite knowledgeable about folklore) into Romanian will give new impulse to Romanian researchers, especially now, when there are stimulating accomplishments and solutions on international level. Thus, the Spanish researchers opted in favour of a Spanish version of the Catalogue: Antti Aarne & Stith Thompson, *Los Tipos del Cuento Folclorico. Una Clasificación.* Traducción al Español de Fernando Peñalosa, "FFC" no. 258, 1995, and the Portuguese researchers Isabel Cardigos, Paulo Correia and J. J. Dias Marques edited *Catalogue of Portuguese Folktales*, "FFC" no. 291, Helsinki, 2007. The latter Catalogue was used, while still on manuscript, by the editor of the new international folktales catalogue, dr. Hans-Jörg Uther, who included in it no less than 700 types from the Portuguese repertory, as compared to 3 types initially included in the old ATh. Even if we are to limit ourselves to this argument of having our national folktales repertory made visible, it should be enough for us to consider the matter and consequently take a decision to this effect.

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En 2006 nous avions salué la parution des *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie*, le XX^e^ tome. La publication de Sibiu a été présentée à l'occasion de la Conférence Nationale de l'Association des Sciences Ethnologiques de Roumanie. Je feuillette les premières dizaines de pages et je constate, sans compter le souvenir agréable, qu'à peu près la moitié de ceux qui ont rendu un hommage écrit à cet anniversaire – pour la plupart des noms connus dans le domaine – ont participé aussi au lancement du volume.

Du point de vue chronologique, l'événement est deux fois anniversaire. Il marque un chiffre rond et significatif par le nombre de volumes publiés et un chiffre également entier par le temps écoulé depuis l'édition du premier numéro: les *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie*, au vingtième cahier, marquent aussi trente ans depuis ses débuts. C'est un intervalle qui inclut, par conséquent, l'heureux rythme des parutions des dernières seize années, aussi bien que les frustrations, maintenant dépassées, de neuf années de suppression.

Les premières trente pages sont des saluts. Les messages convergent thématiquement et coïncident souvent dans les informations de détail. Elles se plient aux vérités et aux certitudes qui ont construit le statut actuel du tome. Ce sont des mots d'amitié et des félicitations chaleureuses pour un périodique dont la parution annuelle, strictement respectée, marque une situation digne d'être signalée. C'est-à-dire que, dans l'ensemble de l'édition du livre ethnologique de la Roumanie post-décembriste, où jusqu'à récemment l'espace de publication a couru le risque de la syncope et de l'éphémère, trente années depuis la naissance et vingt d'exercice discursif marquent une belle étape de la vie. Pour les gens c'est l'âge de la maturité en fleur, quand on peut se rappeler les choses passées sans la moindre mélancolie, parce qu'une vie entière attend, indubitablement, son accomplissement dans le temps à venir. Ce qui est valable pour les hommes n'en est pas moins vrai pour les livres, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'anniversaires. D'autant plus que les périodiques, bien des fois, attachent intimement le rythme de leurs parutions au chiffre des années qui dessinent le fil de la vie de ceux qui ont contribué à édifier ces écrits non seulement en donnant un coup d'épaule, mais à cœur joie. Combien de publications d'aujourd'hui ne se réclament des noms des fondateurs pour leurs racines et leurs traditions ! Les auteurs des textes d'accueil l'affirment, eux aussi, sans apologie et sans fausses réticences. Et parce que pour tous les vingt numéros des *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie* imprimés jusqu'à présent le rédacteur en chef est Ilie Moise, professeur à l'Université Lucian Blaga de Sibiu, dans l'épistolaire au dialogue simultané qui couvre les premières pages du tome, le nom de celui qui a soigné carrément la parution régulière du volume est rappelé avec déférence, avec affection même.

À son tour, le rédacteur en chef inscrit dans le volume jubilaire, avec une rigueur d'historien, des «notes sur la mémoire du temps» qui rendent compte des plus importants moments dans l'existence de la publication. C'est un article bienvenu pour les lecteurs. Et non seulement pour ceux entrés plus récemment dans le champ de la recherche ethnologique. Captifs dans le présent et dépositaires naturels d'information, on se plaît à croire, trop souvent peut être, qu'il n'est pas absolument besoin de rappels pour garder la mémoire vivante. Nous oublions que, faute de notes

quelles que succinctes soient elles, les événements – même ceux qui construisent les marches de l'histoire d'un champ scientifique – se dispersent. Ils se répandent dans des textes et on ne sait jamais, s'ils seront réunis en volume. Ou bien, ils entrent irréversiblement, dans la fameuse tradition orale, juste le pain quotidien de notre science. Aux *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie* on n'est jamais tombé dans ce piège. À la rubrique «La Chronique», rédigée annuellement par le rédacteur en chef, on peut déceler le pacte autobiographique de la discipline telle qu'elle évolue dans l'aire sud-transylvain, à travers les plus importants événements de l'année de référence: en 2006 la fête de la 50^{e} anniversaire de la *Revue d'Ethnographie et de folklore*, hommage apporté par l'Institut d'Ethnographie et de Folklore «Constantin Brailoiu», la session jubilaire *Demi centenaire: 1956–2006*, de l'Institut de Recherches Sociales et Humaines de Sibiu, la promotion de la culture populaire par les actions du Centre Départemental pour la Conservation et la Promotion de la Culture Traditionnelle «Cindrelul – Junii» Sibiu, la recherche et la valorisation scientifique de la culture et de la civilisation populaire au Complexe National du Musée «Astra» Sibiu. La reproduction des fiches bibliographiques de tous les livres et les revues reçues à la rédaction dans les derniers douze mois constituent une partie significative de la rubrique mentionnée.

Si on ne le savait pas déjà, on peut apprendre en lisant les «notes» que pour les *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie* l'année 1991 fut un seuil: la reprise de l'édition du 5^{e} numéro. Sous un nouvel intitulé, le tome était conçu, naturellement, comme continuation de l'ancien bulletin, *Études et Communications*, publication officielle de l' «Association des folkloristes et des ethnographes du département de Sibiu» fondée en 1977. Il réunissait dans ses pages les élaborations scientifiques analysées pendant les assemblées périodiques des membres de l'association ou à l'occasion de divers rencontres de travail comme les symposiums, les sessions de communications etc.

Il y a une unité sous-jacente entre la première série publiée et la suite, assez longue, de volumes parus dans la deuxième étape et ce sont plusieurs niveaux qui mettent en évidence la liaison renouée. Apparemment «menues», certaines choses définissent la continuité: elles donnent le ton de la nouvelle rencontre pour ceux qui connaissent le livre depuis longtemps et assurent le seuil indicatif pour ceux qui, en le lisant pour la première fois, veulent en rester proches, dans l'avenir, Un premier exemple de ce genre appartient au segment du visible, immédiatement repérable – l'aspect graphique. Par conséquent, et à dessein, l'aspect extérieur du volume reste constant: un peu plus large à partir de la troisième parution, le livre garde le long des années la même couleur de la couverture – un gris argent devenu assez vite métallisé. Le même caractère pour les lettres noires du titre et le même format de l'intérieur, ce qui assure, sur l'instant, la reconnaissance visuelle. Un deuxième segment d'unité est celui qui caractérise l'organisation interne de la publication. On y énumère la liste des auteurs et les rubriques de l'intérieur (pas toujours marquées) qui établissent la configuration sur laquelle sont greffées les interventions. Des noms marquants de l'ethnologie roumaine y sont réunis, depuis des universitaires jusqu'à des gens de musée, depuis des chercheurs de profession, jusqu'à des passionnés du domaine. Dans ce contexte, l'attribut le plus important reste la qualité des collaborations. Il faut mentionner d'ailleurs que le périodique est entré sous le patronage de l'Académie Roumaine, dès 1992. Il va honorer son nom et son égide. Dès le commencement, les contributions avaient dépassé les frontières du département de Sibiu. En gardant sa structure, le volume a augmenté la précision de ses limites disciplinaires, en insistant décidément pour l'équilibre du contenu: les études et les communications ont reflété le nom de la science – ethnologie. Les matériels de folklore ont été complétés par une démarche plus large, permettant d'aborder la culture et la civilisation traditionnelles. La culture matérielle a occupé sa place bien méritée. Les interférences ont été présentes, elles aussi. Elles ont débuté avec le niveau régional: le sud de la Transylvanie surtout, avec des extensions, cependant, vers d'autres zones du pays et avec une attention particulière prêtée aux confluences roumano-allemandes etc. Parfois, des contributions venues de chercheurs de l'étranger complètent l'image de l'ethnologie européenne. Ensuite, le temps est venu aussi pour faire des études sur des espaces plus éloignés (même extra-européens), surtout si la représentation culturelle du patrimoine favorisait le sujet.

La dimension théorique, tellement nécessaire pour établir le stade de développement de la science avec ses nombreuses facettes, a accumulé elle aussi des élaborations importantes, qui ont mis face-à-face les secteurs disciplinaires. Vue dans l'ensemble des texte rédigés, la théorie n'est pas

restée marginale, ancrée dans des ouvrages sporadiques ou des introductions méthodologiques, obligatoires pour définir le cadre de la recherche, mais elle a été redoublée de suggestions capables de former un fondement pour des stratégies efficaces de développement. Ainsi a-t'on construit un statut: le volume est devenu un espace convainquant d'information sur les avances scientifiques de l'ethnologie roumaine.

L'unité de vision de la rédaction constitue sûrement une assurance pour la continuation de la publication. Un même rédacteur en chef, surveillant les numéros le long des années: le prof. univ. dr. Ilie Moise. Il est accompagné dès le début, ou depuis beaucoup d'années, de personnalités d'exception dans le domaine: prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Pavelescu, prof. univ. dr. Corneliu Bucur, conf. univ. dr. Al. Dobre, prof. Horst Klusch et d'autres noms réputés de l'ethnologie roumaine, tout d'abord de l'ethnologie régionale. Le rédacteur en chef et son équipe ont démontré, au long des années, des habilités de rédaction et de management, qui ont permis de dépasser les obstacles qui auraient pu périclité le rythme des apparitions. Au-delà des nécessités strictement matérielles que la publication du volume demandait, la rédaction a soutenu les chaînes qui se trouvent à la base de l'équilibre durable qui caractérise le tome. Chaque numéro est une rencontre avec des amis, un cercle toujours ouvert, garant d'une fluidité où la constance et la nouveauté des participations se compensent: un simple survol donne l'image sur la proportion justes des groupes d'âge qui contribuent avec des recherches. Il y a ici, pour la jeune génération de chercheurs, outre l'encouragement implicite, une possibilité de confirmer le niveau atteint dans le travail d'ethnologue. La sélection réalisée par l'équipe de rédaction engage une responsabilité fondée, dès le commencement, sur l'intention de développer le domaine.

Ces éléments apparaissent aussi dans le volume anniversaire. Les deux sections qui donnent la structure sont «folklore – anthropologie – ethnologie», avec dix articles et «ethnologie des Allemands de Roumanie», avec trois articles. Il faut mentionner que les textes sont signés par des personnages connus de la discipline, par des savants, des universitaires ou des chercheurs scientifiques: Gheorghe Pavelescu, Ilie Moise, Georghiță Geană, Victor Grecu, Constantin Drăgulescu, Amalia Pavelescu, Gabriela Pantel – dont les préoccupations couvrent quelques domaines significatifs de l'ethnologie roumaine: l'histoire de la discipline, les bases théoriques de l'anthropologie culturelle, la dimension littéraire des phénomènes de culture traditionnelle, ethnobotanique. La muséologie ethnologique se retrouve elle aussi dans ces pages, grâce aux travaux de quelques studieux de longue date dans ce champ disciplinaire, comme Ana Grama, Maria Bocşe ou Constantin Popa. L'élément dominant est la culture matérielle. Les articles de Marius Drăgoi, Veronica Gheorghiade, Laura Luchian, Liliana Oprescu ou Delia Voina rendent présents les intérêts variés de la jeune génération: depuis les sujets classiques du folklore à ceux de la dernière modernité imposée par l'introduction des nouvelles techniques d'informatisation pour la valorisation du patrimoine. L'ethnomusicologie n'est pas absente: en sont preuve les articles de Zamfir Dejeu et Florian Teodorescu. L'ethnologie des Allemands de Roumanie inclut des travaux signés par Horst Klusch, Gudrun Ittu et Karla Roşca. Maria Bozan apporte, dans ce numéro aussi, la dimension extra-européenne du patrimoine du musée de Sibiu et la manière dont les débuts de l'anthropologie culturelle dans le monde lui assurent la valeur dans le contexte international.

Une rubrique qui ne manque jamais et qui a connu le long du temps des dimensions différentes vu le nombre de pages, est celle des «anniversaires et commémorations». Dans ce numéro elle est consacrée à Ioan Şerb et à Dumitru Pop. Arrêtant un moment la marche impétueuse de la vie quotidienne et sauvant la mémoire, on y rappelle beaucoup ceux qui ont construit le sol ferme de l'ethnologie roumaine. Si le nombre de feuilles de cette section augmente, il est évident qu'il y avait et qu'il y a encore beaucoup à recevoir, que la source d'où la jeune génération tire sa force est loin de sécher.

En tant que signataire de ces lignes, je garde un souvenir intact des moments de lectures et de mes participations textuelles liés à ce volume. Les mots ci-dessus ne peuvent et ne veulent pas être une présentation du tome, mais seulement un signal pour ne pas oublier certains éléments qui concourent à ébaucher un portrait et à marquer un anniversaire.

Maria BOZAN

Ceribašić, Naila and Haskell, Erica (eds.), *Shared Musics and Minority Identities: Papers from the Third Meeting of the "Music and Minorities" Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), Roč, Croatia, 2004*. Zagreb, Roč: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Cultural-Artistic Society "Istarski željezničar", 2006. xxvi + 372 pp + accompanying CD. ISBN 953-6020-32-7.

Definitely, the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities is the best. Or better said, better and better. Already from the first volume (Pettan et al. 2001) to the second one (Hemetek et al 2004) the leap forward was consistent. Even myself, critical on the narrow thematic span of the first volume (Marian-Bălaşa 2003), I became very appreciative when seeing the second. The broadening of the concept and the research circle, the widening of the interest span, the integration of a wider variety of music and minorities matters, the impressively quantitative growth – all are confirmed now with this third volume.[1]

The introductive paper of **Naila Ceribašić** (*Shared Musics and Minority Identities: An Introduction*, p. ix-xviii) remembers the event and atmosphere of the Study Group conference, notes on the current status of various discussions on minorities, and redundantly introduces the papers to follow. A larger remembrance of the venue which occasioned the meeting (Roč, Northern Istria, Croatia) is done by Ines Greblo (*A Word from the Host*, p. xix-xxv). Even if uninteresting from an academic viewpoint, the text surpasses the quality of a dispensable protocol or vanity text.

Philip V. Bohlman is present with a paper (*Minorities of One, and Other Traces on the Postcolonial Musical Landscape*, p.1-14) introducing the case of the modern guslar Boro Ronganović. Initially, the musician was a civil servant in Chicago at the time of Yugoslavia's collapse, became almost suddenly an "accidental" immigrant, turned back to his ancestors' vocation, now offering to ethnomusicologist Bohlman a good excuse for him to interpret the Montenegrin-American musicianship as mediating a memory place and as a myth-and-history agency.

Discussing the *Multiple Musical Identity of Lovara in Austria* (p. 15-30), **Sachiko Takiguchi** presents the musical history of a four generation Roma family, maturely concluding on the several types of musical expression and various repertories as illustrating a developmental process of expressing and performing ethnic identity over decades.

Speranţa Rădulescu (*Parallel Communities, Identities, and Musics: The Case of Roma and Gypsies from Gratia Village, Romania*, p. 31-46), presents two distinct Roma/Gypsy groups from one village, who master and perform very distinct lifestyles, musical styles, and languages. The article is a fair ethnographic description.[2]

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[1] Alas, it inflates the page volume with abstracts in Croatian language. As pointed out with the first volume of the M&M Study Group (Marian-Bălaşa 2003) this is just a useless extra-academic courtesy – done toward the institutional/administrative hosts. Who really cares about reading those abstracts and titles in a minor/minoritarian language?

[2] Alas, as too often (!), the author treats the topic and subject with no academic references, no theoretically informed vision and updated standpoints, just as an ego-centered intellectual discovery, from just an individualistic perspective. This attitude confuses between fieldwork report, alleged comprehension, and expected/updated explanatory standard.

Alma Bejtullahu (*Musical Practice of Albanian Catholic Migrants from Kosovo*, p. 47-64) presents at length the history of Albanian emigration, giving just a small place to discussing the musical aspects (wedding occasions) of the migrants' behaviors. Better balanced – between history and musicology – is the article signed by Ruža Bonifačić (*Multiple Identities of Italians and Croats in the City of Krk (the Island of Krk, Croatia*, p. 65-80), which offers consistent notes and examples on the history and contents of the brass band, the dance songs, and the remaining lyrical songs in a particular town.

Alessandra Ciucci's paper *From Social Marginality to Artistic Centrality: The Case of Moroccan Shikhat* (p.81-91) is a wonderful, exemplary presentation. It is not only the prefect – synthetic, informative and comprehensive – ethnography of the practices of Moroccan female singers-dancers, it is also the highly interpretative, feminist taken on the social and imaginary role of femininity as well as sex-workers in Islamic environments.

Gisa Jähnichen (*Pray Women and their Musical Duties*, p. 93-106) presents the results of a fieldwork in Laos and Thailand, based on questionnaires that, from an intellectual point of view, I find equally basic and challenging. The article is a concentrated overview, with some – equally analytical and applied – organological findings.

Zuzana Jurková (*Pentecostal Movement of the Czech Roma through their Music*, p. 107-119) starts by describing a religious assembly, discards the academic prejudice against studying the music of Pentecostal musics, and then indulges in a long, personal reading and presentation of the elements that characterize the contemporary charismatic movements. The notes on the religious conversion of Czech Roma to Penticostalism and the brief presentation of a specific musical group are very informative.

Yea-Tyng Chang (*Another Minority: French-African Christian Songs in Vienna*, p. 121-127) makes very interesting theoretical remarks and systematizing when discusses the musical repertoire and developments of immigrants from Congo. The discrimination between "external minority condition" and "internal minority situation" is rather applied (facts description), but it is also inspiring for a larger intellectual approach.

Under the title *Music and Dance as the Basis of Spiritual Transformation in the Musical Culture of Turkish Dervishes* (p. 129-140) **Jacek Piech** signs an introduction to the history and phenomenology of things pertaining to Sufi mysticism and whirling dervishes. His bibliography is minimal, and his presentation is fully satisfactory to non-connaisseurs only.[3]

Dorit Klebe (*Visualization-Forms of the Ottoman-Turkish Rhythmic Mode Usûl from the 17th Century on: Discussed in the Context of the Emic/Etic Concept*, p. 141-156) selects elements of the notation and transcription systems devised by three medieval personalities, but I could hardly realize the direct connections between these analyses and comparisons, and the emic/etic dichotomy emphasized here as a revealing concept.

Hande Sağlam (*Musical Identity of Ethnic Groups in the Sivas Region*, p. 157-169) identifies transfers and commonalities in the music of Turks, Kurds, and Armenians in Anatolia, particularly in the sacred and folk music (up to instruments and makams) performed by the *âşıks* (zonal troubadurs).

Thede Kahl (*"Being Vlach, Singing Greek": Greek-Aromanian Music Contacts in the Pindus Mountain Range*, p. 171-188) offers a very comprehensive essay – as well as bibliography – on the research, fieldwork, systematizing, and publishing on the issue of cultural existence and productivity of Aromanians in Southeastern Europe. Interesting enough is the fact that in the Aromanian Pindus mostly women, handling specific repertoires, sing in Aromanian, whereas men, with specialized repertoire, sing primarily in Greek.

Victor A. Stoichiță (*A Matter of Attitude: Gypsiness and Style in Zece Prăjini, Romania*, p. 189-199) extracts from the Roma people's words very suggestive discriminations between

[3] The author presents facts and ideas that are well too well-known to other academic circles (such as, for instance, people familiar with studies in history of religion). But this can be a problem to all those studying music and minorities: condemned to inter- and multi-disciplinarity, they all must compare and compete with experts in either ethnicity studies (if referring to ethnic minorities) or religion studies (if studying/writing on religious groups).

Romanian and Gypsy musicality. The numerous linguistic expressions surpass the level of daily parlance; they become relevant for understanding a very wide span of facts: from grasping technical and acoustic aspects of musical performance up to issues pertaining to self-representation and mentality.[4]

Piotr Dahlig's title, *Migrations in Austria-Hungary after 1878 and Poland after 1945: Music as a Therapy for Cultural Minorities* (p. 201-212) is not ironic. In the contrary, the author displays the history of Poles migrating to Bosnia and then coming back to Poland also from the angle of the documentable musical life. Thus he extracts and offers a different history, which speaks about cultural acquisitions that turned from burden to recently commodifiable pride.

Jerko Bezić (*Croatians of Zadar, Performers of Italian Canzoni Zaratine, Triestine and West-Istrian Urban Songs: The Issue of Multiple Identities and Inter-Ethnic Communication* p. 213-224) writes on a typical case of multiple identity and musical bilingualism. Apart from his main object for study and presentation (words and music borrowings and sharing), interesting is also the Croatian-Italian musicological exchanges the author illustrates.

Bożena Muszkalska (*Alien Melodies versus Jewish Identity in the Music of Ashkenazim from Eastern Europe*, p. 225-234) focuses on the openness of the sacred repertories to influences and the adaptation and integration of both sacred and secular tunes into the music of East European Jewry.

Elena Shishkina tackles the issue of *The Ethnic Identity of Russian Germans in the Context of Contemporary Social, Cultural and Ethnopolitical Problems of the Volga Region in Russia* (p. 235-252) in a descriptive as well as bibliographical fashion. She revisits and compares her field findings with those of many other previous researchers.

In *The Cheapest Musical Instrument of the World* (p. 253-257), **Shui-Cheng Cheng** delivers a unique monograph – on/of the musical usage of tree leaf (references belong to Chinese ethnicities only). Alas, because the learning and playing traditions are, in this case, orally – one may say, at the peak of orality itself – only imitation (although watching and imitation have so many levels or degrees!) and mastership are mentioned. Thus, the article is only an introduction meant to talk organologists into paying attention to this pseudo-instrument too. It leaves open space to other observers and experimentalists – who might be able to notice and explain the handling and playing techniques.

Ivan Lešnik (*Prospects of an Individual Minority Musician: The Case of Slavo Batista*, p. 259-274) delivers another kind of monograph, devoted to an individual who takes, revives, borrows, invents, re-invents, and constructs musical instruments. Some are the folk instruments that had characterized once the traditional music of Slovenes in Istria, others represent his original taken on old, foreign, and hybrid instruments.

Wolf Dietrich (*Playing the Pipiza or Karamouza in Central Greece*, p. 275-288) brings another organological contribution – the oboe-type and drum duo that is so typical to folk music in Sutheastern Europe. Various places and venues in Greece are presented throught the music still to be found.

María Escribano (*Music, Politics and Identity: Exploring Paths to Peace*, p. 289-301) describes a university seminar with the same title, discussing individual contributions and cases that show identification or association between music and politics, cases of social and ideological side-taken, of forwarding peace, understanding, affirmation or confrontation. In a desire for serving and for applied ethnomusicology, the author paralleled and brought together Irish and Basque sectarian groups around a music-making element and event.

In *Aiding Harmony? International Humanitarian Aid and the Role of Applied Ethnomusicologists* (p. 303-314) **Erica Haskell** makes one step forward: benefiting from a global perspective and associating many facts (music and politics, with special emphasis on Iraq and Bosnia), the author suggests some of the differences, the limits and risks taken by the involvement of music and musicologists in political agendas and humanitarian policies.

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[4] The author, however, should avoid bibliographical ignorance (see Marian-Bălaşa 2002, 2004).

Aleksandra Marković and **Ana Hofman** (*The Role of Cultural-Artistic Societies in Emphasizing the Identity of Bunjevci*, p. 315-333) discusses the role of an institution in the act of reviving folk traditions in the aim for preserving and promoting a particular ethnic profile. Differences between reality in the field and the mediated outputs are emphasized.

Jakša Primorac (*Minority within Minority: A Fieldwork Experience with Greek-Catholic Singers in Croatia*, p. 335-349) shows an interesting passing from folk reality to festival (and back) in the fight of a marginalized religious community for survival and emancipation.

Rosemary Statelova has here an article (*The East Studies the West: The Problematic Dialogue*, p. 351-358) which could equally open the volume. It brings out the issue of emic/etic explanation as well as insider's/outsider's dialectics in presenting the culture. It also raises issues related to academic discrimination and inequality (Westerners studying European musics rely only on American-centered biography, without really checking with the regional research and expertise), thus enlarging the grasp of concepts such as sameness and otherness.

A list of the audio examples, with extensive explanations, on the accompanying CD follows (p. 359-364), and "Notes on Contributors" (p. 365-371) end the volume.

As it can be noticed, there is no obvious, logical or discoursive succession or continuity among published authors. But that's the risk most proceedings volume takes, although the striving of any such volume for coming closer to the structuring composition of a collective volume would be better appreciated. I think, however, that working either through selection, or through re-processing – i.e., either not all papers presented to be included in the volume, or all papers to be rewritten in accordance with observations, discussions, questions or criticism expressed during a conference – together with structuring each volume in accordance with cognate topics, similar approaches, and ideated fluency, might really improve the quality of the M&M Study Group's productions.

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